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THE LIFE
OF
HENRY THE FOURTH.

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OF
HENRY THE FOURTH

T H E L I F E
O F
H E N R Y T H E F O U R T H
O F F R A N C E,

Translated from the French of P E R E F I X,

B Y M. L E M O I N E,

*One of his most Christian Majesty's Gentlemen
in Ordinary.*

A P A R I S,
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TO THE KING,

SIR,

I know the injunctions your Majesty has implicitly laid upon me, in giving me leave to prefix your name to this work, and how easy it is to alarm your extreme modesty. Tho' this history has been your first spelling-book, as I may say, and ought to be that of every Monarch upon earth, yet perhaps you will not dislike to read it over again, in a language you are partial to, and which your Majesty is perfect master of. May this translation

*prove worthy of the honor you have done it,
and be a proof of the extreme desire I have
to deserve your Majesty's favor !*

I am

May it please your most sacred Majesty,

your Majesty's most humble,

most obedient and most devoted

subject and servant

LE MOINE

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEN I first undertook to translate into English some parts of Henry the fourth's life, originally written in French by Perefix, it was only with a view to my own improvement. But having shewn them to some English Gentlemen of my acquaintance, who were so good as to correct my version, and whose names I would with pleasure mention here, if I was not afraid of offending them, they encouraged me to go on and translate the whole. I was the more easily prevailed on, as the English being now deservedly the fashionable language amongst us, and learned by our youth of the highest rank, I flattered myself that some of them might, in many respects, benefit by this translation, if I was lucky enough to succeed in it. Those who are acquainted with the English language, will easily perceive that I have kept as close as possible to my author's meaning. I have taken the liberty, it is true,

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

of suppressing some repetitions, and passages ;
which to me seemed useless ; but those omis-
sions and alterations are so few and insignifi-
cant, that they are not worth mentioning.

T H E L I F E

O F

HENRY THE FOURTH.

To ascertain precisely the place where Henry the great was begotten would be a task of no small difficulty. The general opinion is, that it was at la Fleche in Anjou, where both Anthony of Bourbon his father, and the Princess of Navarre his mother fixed their residence from the latter end of February 1552, till the middle of May 1553. This much, however, is certain that the first time she perceived herself with child, she was at the camp in Picardy with her husband, who was Governor of that Province, and who came there from la Fleche to command an army against the Emperour Charles the fifth. Indeed it was but just, that a Prince designed by Providence to make an extraordinary figure in the world, should discover the first symptoms of life in a camp, amidst the

noise of trumpets, and the din of arms, like a true son of Mars.

Henry of Albret his Grand - father having heard of his daughter's pregnancy, sent for her, in order that he himself might superintend the education of a child, who, he was confident, would one day revenge upon the Spaniards the injuries he had received from them.

That courageous Princess, therefore, taking leave of her husband, set out from Compiègne the fifteenth of November, crossed all France to the Pyrenees, and, after a journey of eighteen or nineteen days at most, arrived, on the fourth of December, at Pau in Bearn, where she met her father; and on the thirteenth of the same month was happily delivered of a son.

Previous to this, King Henry of Albret had made his will, which the Princess his daughter longed very much to see; having been told he had made it, to her prejudice, in behalf of a woman he had been in love with. She was afraid to speak to him about it, but her father being informed of her longing, promised to put the will into her hand, as soon as he should see the child she was then big with; on condition, however, that, during the time of her

delivery, she should sing a song, *in order*, said he, *that you may not bring forth a crying or ill-humoured child.*

The Princess promised she would, and notwithstanding all the pains of childbirth, faithfully kept her word, and sung a Bearnois song as soon as she heard him enter the room. It was remarked that, contrary to the usual course of nature, the child came into the world without crying, and as it became a Prince who was one day to fill all France with joy and happiness.

No sooner was he born, than his grandfather carried him in the lappet of his gown into his room, and presenting his daughter with his will inclosed in a golden box, *that is yours, daughter*, said he, *and this is mine*, pointing to the babe. He then rubbed the lips of the infant with a clove of garlick, and made him suck a drop of wine in his golden cup, with a view to strengthen and invigorate his constitution.

The Spaniards had formerly said by way of banter on the birth of our Henry's mother; *a miracle! the cow has brought forth a sheep*; meaning by the word *cow* Queen Marguerite her mother, to whom they gave that appellation, as they did that of *cow-herd* to her husband,

alluding to the arms of Bearn, which are two cows. King Henry, who did not entertain the least doubt of his grand-son's future greatness, used frequently to take him up in his arms to kiss him, and calling to mind the insipid rally of the Spaniards, *behold*, said he exultingly, to those who came to compliment and rejoice with him on that happy event, *behold, my sheep has brought forth a Lion.*

He was baptized the year following, on the sixth of January 1554, in the chapel of the palace of Pau, where a font of silver gilt had been provided for that purpose. His God-fathers were Henry the second of France, and Henry of Albret King of Navarre, who gave him their own name; and his God-mother was madam Claude of France, who was afterwards Dutchess of Lorrain. James de Foix, then Bishop of Lescar, and afterwards Cardinal, supplied on that occasion the place of his most Christian Majesty, and madam d'Andouins that of madam Claude of France. He was baptized by Cardinal d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, and Vice-Legate of Avignon.

It was at first with the greatest difficulty that he was brought up, having had seven or eight nurses one after the other.

As soon as he was weaned , the King his grand-father gave him for Governess Susanne of Bourbon wife of John of Albret , and Baroness of Miossens , who brought him up in the castle of Coarasse , situated amidst the rocks and mountains of Bearn.

His grand-father would not suffer him to be fed with that delicacy usual amongst those of his high rank , as well knowing that a weak and dastardly soul is generally the concomitant of a soft and tender body. Neither would he allow him to be richly dressed , nor have toys , nor be flattered , or stiled Prince , » because all « these things serve only to instill the poison of « vanity into the tender minds of children , and « puff them up with pride , instead of inspiring « them with generous sentiments ». On the contrary , he ordered that , in point of dress and food , he should be treated exactly like the other children of the country , that he should be accustomed to run and climb the rocks , in order that , by so doing , his body might become inured to fatigues , and acquire a strength and firmness which was , doubtless , very necessary for a Prince who had so many difficulties to encounter to conquer his own kingdom.

King Henry of Albret died at Hagetmau in Bearn the twenty-fifth of May 1555, in the fifty third year of his age, or thereabouts. He ordered by his will that his body should be transferred to Pampeluna, to be there interred with his predecessors, and that, in the mean time it should be deposited in the Cathedral Church of Lescar in Bearn. This Prince was a man of wit and courage, mild and courteous to every body, and renowned for his generosity. Charles the fifth, in passing once through Navarre, met with so good a reception from him, that he owned he never in his life saw a more magnificent Prince.

After his death he was succeeded by Jane his daughter, and Anthony Duke of Vendome his son in law. They were then at the court of France, and with difficulty obtained leave to return to Bearn, because Henry the second, influenced by bad advice, had a mind to deprive them of lower Navarre, alledging that all the country on this side of the Pyrennees belonged to France. But they artfully contrived matters so as to make the states of Navarre oppose his pretensions, and the King thought it prudent not to urge them too far on that

head, lest despair should force them to call in Spain to their assistance. However, he had that always against them; insomuch, that in giving Anthony the government of Guienne, which had been likewise held by Henry of Albret his father in law, he separated Languedoc from it, tho' for many years before it had made part thereof.

About two years after, they returned to the French court, carrying along with them their son who was then five years old, and the prettiest and best shaped child in the world; but here they remained not long, for a few months after they went back again to Bearn.

Shortly after, King Henry the second was slain with a spear by Montgomery. He was succeeded by his eldest son Francis the second; and the Guises, uncles to Queen Mary Stuart his wife, seized upon the administration, which greatly displeased the Princes of the blood. Lewis Prince of Conde, younger brother to Anthony, called this King to court in order to oppose their designs.

During these divisions, the Huguenots formed the conspiracy of Amboise against the then administration; but being discovered, and the

two brothers Anthony and Lewis accused of being the ringleaders of it, they were both taken prisoners during the meeting of the states of Orleans, and the trial of the latter was so warmly pursued, that it was thought he would have lost his head, had it not been for the death of Francis the second.

Charles the ninth, who succeeded him, being under age, Queen Catherine his mother got herself proclaimed Regent by the states, and the King of Navarre, first Prince of the blood, was declared Lieutenant General of the kingdom to share with her in the administration: so that by this means he was obliged to remain in France, whither he sent for Queen Jane his wife, and little Prince Henry his son. But he did not enjoy that new dignity long; for the troubles still continuing, and the Protestants taking by surprize the best towns in the kingdom; after having retaken Bourges from them, he came to lay siege to Rouen, where, as he was one day visiting the trenches, he received a musket-shot in the left shoulder, of which he died a few days after at Andely upon the Seine. Had he lived longer, there is no doubt but the Protestants would have been treated with great

severity in France, for he bore them a mortal hatred, tho' his brother the Prince of Condé was the principal leader of that party.

The Queen his wife, and the little Prince his son were at that time at the court of France. The mother went back to Bearn, where she openly turned Protestant, but left her son with the King, under the care and tuition of an excellent Preceptor named la Gaucherie, who endeavoured to give him a tincture of literature, not by the the rules of Grammar, but by conversation and discourse. With this view, he taught him by heart many fine sentences, such as :

With justice conquer, or with glory die ;
and this other :

Great is the authority of Princes over their people ; but that of God over Kings is by far greater.

In the year 1565 the Queen his mother took him from the court of France, and carried him along with her to Pau, where she put him under the care of Florent Chretien, and old servant to the house of Vendome, a most agreeable companion, well versed in polite literature, but a stanch Huguenot, and who, according

to the Queen's orders, educated him in that false doctrine.

During the first Religious troubles, Francis Duke of Guise had been murdered by Poltrot at the siege of Orleans, leaving his children under age.

During the second, the High Constable Montmorency received a wound at the battle of S. Denis, of which he died three days after at Paris, the eve of S. Martin's 1567.

During the third, Queen Jane declared herself the Protectress of the Huguenot party, being come for that purpose to Rochelle with her son whom, from that time out, she devoted to the defence of that new doctrine.

Thus qualified, our young Henry was declared Head of the party, and his uncle the Prince of Conde, and Admiral Coligny his Lieutenants. They were both of them very great Commanders, but they committed such blunders as did not escape the notice even of young Henry then only about thirteen years old: for, at the great skirmish at Loudun, he, very wisely judged, that, had the Duke of Anjou been ready to attack them, he would have done it; and that, as he had not, it must have been

owing to the weak posture he was in, and of course he should be attacked as soon as possible : but his advice was not followed ; and the Duke of Anjou had time enough given him to muster all his troops.

At the battle of Jarnac, he, with great judgment, remonstrated to them that it was unsafe to fight, because their troops were scattered, and those of the Duke of Anjou united ; but they were too far advanced to recede. The Prince of Conde was killed in the engagement, after having his leg broken, or rather he was murdered in cool blood after the battle was over.

By his death all the authority, as well as confidence of the Huguenot party devolved to the Admiral. He certainly was the greatest man of his age, and withal the most unfortunate.

Having collected together fresh troops, he hazarded a second engagement at Montcontour in Poitou. He had ordered the young Prince of Navarre and the young Prince of Condé, who was likewise named Henry, to be carried to the army, and had given them in charge to Prince Ludovic of Nassau, who posted them on a hill, a little distance one

from the other , and attended them with a guard of four thousand horse.

The young Prince of Navarre was impatient for the fight ; but he was not permitted to expose his person , for fear of endangering his life. It was prudently done , no doubt , to restrain his ardour : however , when the Vanguard of the Duke of Anjou was broken through by that of the Admiral , there would have been no danger in letting him fall upon the enemy before they had recovered from the shock which they had received : but he was hindered therefrom ; which made him cry out : *we lose our advantage , and of course the battle.* Accordingly they did so ; and , from that hour , he was allowed to possess , at the age of sixteen , more penetration and judgment than the oldest soldiers could boast of. « Indeed he applied himself wholly to whatever he did , and bestowed upon it all his powers both of body and soul » : Having saved himself with the remnants of his broken army , he made almost the whole tour of the kingdom , still fighting as he retreated , and gathering up and down Huguenot troops for the space of five or six months , during which he suffered so much from fatigues and hardships

of every kind , that nothing but the education he had received , could possibly prevent his sinking under them.

This young Prince , always attended by the Admiral , led his troops into Guienne , and from thence into Languedoc , where he surprized Nimes , took some little fortresses by storm , and burnt the adjacent parts of Toulouse , so that the sparks of the conflagration fell even in that great town.

The flames of war being kindled in the Vivarais , he crossed the Rhone , scaled the walls of the towns of S. Julien and S. Just , and forced S Etienne en Forez to capitulate. From thence he came down to the banks of the Saone , and after to the center of Burgundy. Paris was a second time alarmed at the approach of an army the more formidable , as it seemed reinforced by the loss of two battles , and by some advantage it had gained over that of the Catholics commanded by Marshal de Cossé.

The King's Council , fearing to venture all a fourth time , thought it more prudent to patch up a peace again with this party ; and accordingly began to treat about it at S. Germain en Laye , the two armies being near one another

in the valley of Aillan , not far from Arnay-le-Duc, and concluded it the eleventh of August 1570.

Affairs being thus amicably ajusted , each party withdrew home ; the Prince of Navarre went to Bearn , Charles the ninth married Elisabeth daughter of the Emperor Maximilian the second , and all seemed to think of nothing but feasts and rejoicings. The King , however, having considered that he could never subdue the Huguenots by force , resolved to have recourse to much more easy , but much more wicked , means. He began , therefore , by caressing them , by making them believe he was desirous of using them well , by granting most of their demands ; in a word , by flattering them with the hopes of waging war with the Spanish King in the low countries, which they ardently wished for : and the better to wheedle them , he promised , as a pledge of his word , that he would give his sister Marguerite in marriage to the Prince of Navarre. By those means he allured the principal Heads of the Protestant party to Paris.

Queen Jane , his mother , who came before them to prepare the wedding , died a few days

after her arrival. She was a Princess whose wit and courage were far above her sex, and whose soul, truly masculine, was no way subject to the weaknesses and imperfections of other women; but with all that she was an avowed enemy to the Catholic Religion. Some historians say she was poisoned by perfumed gloves, because it was feared, lest, being a woman of keen sense, she should discover the design that had been formed to massacre all the Protestants: but others contradict that assertion, and say it is more probable she died consumptive, as appeared by the testimony of those who attended her.

Henry her son, who was coming after her, was in Poitou when he received the news of her death, and began to stile himself King, for till then, he was only called Prince of Navarre. On his arrival in Paris, his unfortunate marriage was celebrated; the two parties were betrothed at the Louvre by Cardinal de Bourbon, and the next day married by him at Notre-Dame upon a scaffold raised for that purpose before the great gate of that Church, in the presence both of the King, and the Queen mother. When the ceremony was over, Queen

Marguerite went to hear mass, and receive the sacrament in the choir, and the King of Navarre, crossing a gallery that was purposely erected along the Church, withdrew to the Archbishop's palace: after mass, he came to meet his mistress, and having kissed her, he went with her to the Archbishop's, where dinner was ready prepared for all the Royal Family.

Six days after, which was S. Bartholomew's day, all the Huguenots who came to the feast were massacred; amongst the rest was Admiral Coligny, twenty Lords of distinction, and twelve hundred Gentlemen; besides three or four thousand soldiers and citizens: in short near a hundred thousand men underwent the same fate in all the different towns of the kingdom. Execrable action! which never was, and it is to be hoped never will be, paralleled.

What a heart-break must it have been to this young King to see, instead of wine and perfumes, so much blood shed at his wedding, his best friends slaughtered, and to hear their pitiful groans which reached his ears in the Louvre where he lodged! Besides that, he was not without some apprehension lest an attempt should be made upon his own life. In fact it was

deliberated whether the Prince of Condé and he should share the same fate with the rest, and the authors of the massacre were for putting them to death; however, it was resolved, as it were by a miracle, that their lives should be spared.

Charles the ninth ordered them to be conducted before him, and shewing them a heap of dead bodies, he, with horrid menaces, and without hearing their reasons, told them they must chuse *death or mass*. They chose the latter, and abjured Calvinism; but as it was known they did it against their will, they were so narrowly watched that they could not make their escape from court during the two years Charles the ninth had still to live, nor even a long time after his death.

All this while, our Henry artfully dissembled his sorrows, however great, and hid the trouble of his mind under the veil of a perpetual serenity of countenance, and a constant facetiousness and good humour. That was undoubtedly the most difficult period of his life. He had to do with a fierce King, and his two brothers, the Duke of Anjou, a dissembling Prince, who had a hand in the massacres, and the Duke of Alençon who was both deceitful

and mischievous, with Queen Catherine who mortally hated him, because her sooth-sayers had told her that he should one day reign; and in fine with the house of Guise whose power was without bounds.

He undoubtedly stood in need of wonderful prudence to conduct himself with all those people; to give no room to jealousy, and yet gain the general esteem; to reconcile gravity and respect, and to preserve at the same time his dignity and his life. He however extricated himself from all those dangers with unparalleled skill and address.

He contracted a close intimacy with the Duke of Guise, who was nearly of the same age with himself, and they used to make their private parties together. He did not agree so well with the Duke of Alençon whose humour was whimsical; he therefore did not chuse to fall out with him, because neither the King nor the Queen mother had any affection for him, but yet he would not listen to the bad advice of that Queen's emissaries who did all they could to engage him in a duel with the Duke: for besides his being the brother of his King, whom he ought to respect, he knew perfectly well it

would have been his bane, and that she would not fail to lay hold on so fair a pretext to ruin him.

Thus he avoided the snares the Queen was laying for him, but not all; for he was caught at last by the charms of certain young Ladies of the court, whom, they say, this Queen made use of to entertain the Princes and Lords with a view to discover their thoughts. That Queen's policy was so well known by every body, that this is a truth which cannot be concealed without effacing every history of her age.

But, as the vices we contract in the bloom of youth commonly attend us to the grave, so a fondness of women was ever after the weak side of our Henry, and his propensity that way was perhaps the occasion of his last disaster; for sooner or later God rigorously punishes those who blindly give themselves up to that criminal passion.

This, however, was the only vice he picked up in that court, and it is owing to a particular favor of God that he was not entirely corrupted there; for a more lewd and flagitious court was never seen. Impiety, atheism, witchcraft, the most horrible obscenities, the basest cowardice, perfidy, poison and assassination

reigned there to the most shocking degree. Far from being infected by all those abominations, they only served to strengthen the natural aversion he had to them, and though surrounded by men of the most abandoned principles, he never once thought of being their companion in wickedness, but on the contrary was their enemy.

After the massacre of S. Bartholomew, it was resolved to extirpate the Huguenots; in order to which the Duke of Anjou went to besiege Rochelle, and took Henry with him, but had him so strictly watched, that he could not stir unseen. How great must have been his concern at being compelled to contribute to the destruction of the remaining part of his servants and friends who had taken shelter in that town. After a long siege they were at last freed by the arrival of the Polish Ambassadors who came for the Duke of Anjou whom the states of that country had chosen for their King.

The siege being raised, Henry returned, or rather was reconducted to Paris; and the Duke of Anjou left France with great regret, to take possession of his new kingdom.

Some months after, Charles the ninth was seized with a mortal distemper, the blood oozing out through all the pores of his body, so that it was thought he had been poisoned.

Be that as it will (if it be permitted to judge Kings, who ought to be judged by God alone) one may say it was a divine punishment for his blasphemies, and perhaps too for all the blood he had spilled.

His extreme illness gave rise to a league made between the Duke of Alençon, the Marshals Montmorency and Cossé, some Catholics and the Huguenot party, to deprive the Queen mother of the administration, and to drive the Guises from court, where they were very powerful. Our Henry came into this league, not that he wished to have any connection with those people, but that he might have an opportunity of getting back into his own country without any danger to himself.

The Queen mother, having been informed of these underhand dealings, ordered him and the Duke of Alençon to be arrested, and both were put under Guard. The Prince of Condé luckily made his escape into Germany. The two Marshals Montmorency and Cossé were

likewise arrested; and, to shew that she did not treat Princes in that manner without very great reason, she had them examined upon many atrocious crimes, but which, it is thought, were all falsely contrived. The only persons she put to death were la Mole, Coconas and Tourtray, three Gentlemen of distinction, who were involved in those intrigues. She thought that execution necessary to quiet the minds of the nobility and common people who began to murmur at seeing a son of a King of France, and a first Prince of the blood used in so severe a manner.

In this affair the Chancellor thought to question the King of Navarre; but though a prisoner, and threatened, he would not demean his dignity so far as to answer him.

However, to satisfy the Queen mother, he made her a long speech in which he explained many things relating to the present state of the kingdom; but charged nobody, as the Duke of Alençon had the weakness to do.

Charles the ninth, being near his end, and hating his two brothers and his mother, sent for our Henry, in whom alone he had found any honour or faith, and, in the most affectionate

manner, recommended to him his wife and daughter.

Catherine of Medicis, having heard that he had been sent for, and fearing he might be declared Regent, endeavoured to strike terror into his soul, thinking by that means he would not dare to agree to the proposal. As he was going to wait upon the King at the wood of Vincennes, she ordered he should pass under the vaults between a line of Guards who, by their posture, seemed as it were designed to murder him. He at first started back with terror, but Nancay-la-Chatre, Captain of the life Guards, bid him not to fear, assuring him he was in no danger. Tho' he did not depend much on his word, he was under the necessity of passing through the halberds and carabines.

After the death of Charles the ninth, Catherine of Medicis, partly by force, and partly by cunning, seized upon the administration, till the return of her dear son the Duke of Anjou, who was named Henry the third.

When he was returned from Poland, she conducted the two Princes to him to the bridge of Beauvoisin, in order to dispose of them as he thought proper. After some threats and rebukes, he set them at liberty.

These two Princes, reflecting on the perpetual dangers they had been in for two years together, resolved to get rid of their fears by the first opportunity. The Prince of Condé, who was in Germany, had raised soldiers for the Huguenot party, which, from the end of Charles the ninth's reign, had taken up arms again; and Damville second son of the late High-Constable, and brother to the Marshal Montmorency, then confined at the Bastille, joined this party, not from any motive of Religion, for he was a Catholic, but under the cover of public liberty and utility. Those Catholics, who entered into a league with the Huguenots, were called *Politicians*.

Our Henry could not effectuate his escape from the court as soon as he could wish: he was carefully watched, and his own servants were but so many spies upon him. He was, moreover, apprehensive of being murdered, should he be surprised endeavouring to get away. Whilst he was looking out for convenient opportunities to do it with safety, he entangled himself in new snares, becoming passionately fond of the Lady of Sauves, wife to the secretary of state, then the finest woman at court.

In the mean time, the Queen mother, who had detained him at court with so much care, would not have been sorry that he made his escape; for her dear son the King began to take cognisance of affairs, which was contrary to her desire of ruling alone.

As she dreaded his taking the power into his own hands would lessen her authority, she thought that, by embarrassing him with factions and civil wars, which she alone would keep the key of, he could not possibly do without her. This was the reason that, as long as she lived, she was continually promoting quarrels underhand, and incensing the different parties one against the other, till, having at last occasioned the downfall of the state, and the total subversion of all the laws, she herself perished in the conflagration she had been pleased to kindle.

In the mean while, as the King was going to Rheims to be consecrated, he discovered a conspiracy formed against his person by the Duke of Alençon, at the instigation of the friends of the late Admiral, and of la Mole his favourite. Some people thought the whole was a contrivance of the Queen mother to puzzle and

weaken her son's mind, whereas she prevailed upon him to overlook this crime without punishing either the accomplices or instigators of it.

However that may be, Henry the third shewed on that occasion the particular confidence he reposed in the King of Navarre, who, with his friends, attended him on the road as Captain of his Guards, never quitting the boot of his coach; which was the more generous in him, as he had no other motive to love him than the bare consideration of his duty, being both his relation and vassal.

Henry the third, being arrived at Rheims, was consecrated the fifteenth of February by Cardinal de Guise, and, the next day, married Louisa of Lorraine, daughter to the Count of Vaudemont; which added new lustre to the house of Guise, of which Duke Henry, then in favour and afterwards killed at Blois, was the chief. This Prince, the bravest in every respect that ever lived, flattered himself with the hopes of governing the King by the means of the Queen his relation.

He contracted a very close intimacy with the King of Navarre, whom he used to call his

master, as the King used to call him his Blade. Indeed, Queen Marguerite, who could not live without intrigues, contributed with all her might towards fomenting this good understanding, and endeavoured to engage Monsieur (heretofore called the Duke of Alençon) for whom she entertained a most violent passion, to come into it.

Now, as good understanding among Princes is the bane of favourites, and of those who encroach upon government, the Queen mother artfully warded off that blow, by inspiring the King with jealousy against his wife, and irritating Monsieur against the Duke of Guise, by calling to his remembrance the murder of Coligny: she was also eternally sowing dissensions between the King of Navarre, and Monsieur, by the means of some women of intrigue, and particularly la Sauves, who entirely devoted to Catherine, received the addresses and services of Monsieur, with a view to set them together by the ears.

It is undoubtedly a great misfortune for a state, and much more so for a Royal Family, to be thus divided amongst themselves, and those who are thoroughly acquainted with the history

of those times ascribe the disaster and total ruin of the house of Valois to the continual dissensions which Queen Catherine, by her wretched policy, took care to foment amongst her children. She fostered an irreconcilable hatred between the King and Monsieur; which gave rise to an affair that shewed the greatness and generosity of our Henry in as strong a light as any other action of his life.

The King being taken ill, and in danger of dying of a distemper in his ear, thought himself poisoned, as Francis the second had been, and charged his own brother with it. In that belief, he sends for the King of Navarre, and orders him to make away with Monsieur, as soon as he should be dead, alledging many reasons to persuade him that this wicked man would put him and all those belonging to him to death, if he did not prevent him. The King's favourites, who were of their master's opinion, seeing Monsieur pass, eyed him with murdering looks, and were already sacrificing him to their vengeance. Our Henry, struck with horror at so cruel an order, endeavoured to appease the King's fury, and expostulated with him on the dreadful consequences of it. But the King would listen to no reason; on the contrary, he flew

into such a rage , that he would have him execute it on the spot , lest he should not do it after his death.

If the two brothers , to wit , the King and Monsieur , were out of the world , the crown was undoubtedly his. Now , one of them was , to all appearances , on his death-bed , and the other he could easily make away with , having the favourites , the King's officers , the Guises and their friends , and almost all the Lords at his command. For Monsieur was a Prince of no great power or interest , was almost generally detested , and supported only by the brave Bussy d'Amboise. How few Princes are there who would let slip so fair an opportunity? And yet our Hero (for it is on such an occasion as this that he truly deserves that appellation) far from availing himself of the furious vengeance of Henry the third , looked upon it with horror and detestation. » Is there any thing so great or « noble as to curb ambition when it would go « beyond the bounds of justice , and to scorn a « crown that must be earned by base and « cowardly means , or purchased at the expence « of honour and conscience? » Diadems acquired by wicked means , far from being badges

of honor to those who wear them , are but so many tokens of infamy , such as we see on the foreheads of thieves and robbers.

Heaven approved , no doubt , of his generous sentiments , and destined the crown of France for him , because he was not impatient to have it before his turn : whereas those brothers of the house of Valois , who endeavoured to snatch it one from the other , made , every one of them , a miserable end , and were succeeded by him who refused to purchase it at the expence of a crime.

Henry the third , being recovered from his illness , saw very well that he had wrongfully accused his brother of having poisoned him ; but that did not make him a bit the dearer to him. Not a day passed but he suffered his favourites to play him a thousand pranks , and make him the subject of their mirth and ridicule in every company , not considering that the contempt shewn to his brother reflected on himself , and that , in allowing his subjects to take disrespectful liberties with a person so very near to him , he was encouraging them to disrespect himself.

They even intended to murder , by night

and at the gates of the Louvre, Bussy d'Amboise, his favourite and only support; and it is thought orders had been given to kill the Duke of Alençon himself, should he come to his assistance, for people were suborned to come and cry out to him: *They murder Bussy*. This determined at last the Duke of Alençon to make his escape from court, which he did, took the field, collected the malecontents, and having composed an army, joined that of the Huguenots commanded by the Prince of Condé, and by Casimir, the Count Palatine's younger brother, who in those civil wars of Religion, brought, two or three times, great numbers of Reisters with him into France.

The King of Navarre was powerfully solicited to follow him, and Monsieur said he had given him his promise that he would; but all those who could favor his escape were removed from his person, and others substituted in their stead who were hired to watch his steps. On the other hand, he was promised to be made Lieutenant General of the King's army, which was a powerful incentive to keep him at court, but a much stronger one still with him was, his passion for the beautiful Sauves.

Notwithstanding all this, the natural impulse of his courage, and the fear lest Monsieur and the Prince of Condé should take possession of the first rank in the Huguenot party, which had been his cradle, and should be, as it were, his strong hold; the remonstrances of some of his servants, together with the intrigues of Queen Catherine, who purposely inflamed the King against him, with a view to force him to make his escape, all this determined him to quit the court. Under pretence, therefore, of hunting towards Senlis, he made his escape, and retired to Alençon, where, notwithstanding, he raised no disturbances, because a peace was shortly after concluded with them all. Monsieur had a considerable appanage given him, with some money and some fortresses: many advantageous terms were granted to the Huguenots; and the Prince of Condé got the government of Picardy, and the town of Peronne for his retreat: but all our Henry got were vain and empty hopes, which having at length opened his eyes, he, without more ado, returned to the Huguenot party, the only support he could have, and renouncing the Catholic Religion, he embraced anew the faith he had

first professed. It is to be presumed he only acted so from a persuasion of its being the better Religion ; if that be true , he would be in some sort excusable , and the only thing that could be laid to his charge is , his not having been sufficiently enlightened to make a proper choice.

Nevertheless , it is very remarkable that the greatest fault his enemies , I mean the leaguers , ever reproached him with , was his having relapsed , and was the chief obstacle he met with at Rome , when , after his conversion , he asked the Pope's absolution.

The Rochelois received him into their city ; but not without many precautions , and after he had turned away some of his followers who were neither Catholics , nor Protestants , but men of atheistical principles , and abominably wicked lives. It is said they attached themselves to him much against his will ; that indeed he had employed them in some intrigues , but that he held them in utter detestation , and that it was he himself , who , by some secret springs , obliged the Rochelois to demand their expulsion.

After having remained some months at Ro-

chelle he went to take possession of his Government of Guienne, where he had the mortification to see the gates of Bourdeaux shut against him, under pretence that the inhabitants were afraid he should make himself master of the city, and banish from thence the Catholic Religion.

This was an affront that must sensibly affect a brave young Prince like Henry; but he prudently dissembled for that time, because it was not in his power to resent it, and when it was, he generously forgave it.

It was at that period that the famous league took its rise; that powerful faction which, for the space of twenty years, distracted France, and nearly introduced the Spanish yoke into it; a faction that under the most specious pretext, that of maintaining the Religion of our ancestors, intended to subvert the order of succession of the Royal Family.

Formerly, under the reign of Charles the ninth, divers confederacies were formed, and associations entered into, in Guienne and Languedoc, to defend the Church against the Huguenots. But it seems that those who were at the head of them, had either very little zeal,

or very little ambition ; for they were neither carried far enough, nor sufficiently supported, so that they dwindled away to nothing. The Grantees of the kingdom had however an opportunity to remark that, if any such associations were ever entered into again, it would be a fair way of raising to a very great height of power whoever would be at the head of them.

Henry Duke of Guise, who had the heart of a King, entertained, in all probability some such thought, or, if he did not at first, Henry the third's favourites inspired him with it, by persecuting him so, that they forced him at last to fly to that party for protection against their malice. There were in his family eight or ten Princes all of the most undaunted bravery. The chief of whom were the Duke of Mayenne and the Cardinal of Guise his brothers ; the Duke of Aumale and the Marquiss of Elbeuf his cousins.

The flight of Monsieur, of which mention has been made above and his joining with the Huguenots, together with the advantageous peace that was afterwards granted them, this it was, that gave birth to the league, which was very weak in its origin. Those who aimed at power, and who, to aggrandize

themselves, wished to see a new faction in the state, took that pretext to represent by their emissaries the extreme danger the Catholic Religion was in, and to remonstrate on the excessive power of its enemies, who had of their side the two first Princes of the blood, and Monsieur who was their friend. What should become of us, said they, should he ascend the throne with such evil intentions? That it was, therefore, necessary to look to it betimes, and guard against the danger that threatened the holy Church. There and such like considerations were only whispered about at first; but, when people's minds were thus duly prepared, they became the topic of public conversation.

Thereupon the citizens of Peronne, a free town, and that never was accustomed to have a Governor of any power, refused to receive the Prince of Condé, by reason of his being a Huguenot. The Prince complains to the King, and demands the execution of the treaty of peace. The Picards obstinately hold out against him, and are the first who enter into a confederacy or league to defend, as they said, the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman faith. The Prince

of Condé could never get any satisfaction for that insult, and was obliged to retire into Guienne.

James Lord d'Humieres put himself at the head of that league; and Aplincourt a young Nobleman received the oaths of the inhabitants of Peronne, whose example was followed by Amiens, Corbie, Saint-Quentin and many other towns.

Another confederacy was formed in Poitou by Lewis de la Tremouille. He was therein countenanced underhand by the Queen mother, who favoured these civil broils and dissensions, the better to maintain her own authority. The articles of that league and the first model of it being brought to Paris, some zealots went about with them from house to house shewing them, and doing all they could to engage on their side the most sanguine and hot-headed among the people: but Christopher de Thou, first President, put a stop, for that time, to the progress of that conspiracy.

Those who had formed the plan of it in order to give it some consistence, and leave no time to people's minds to cool, resolved to continue the war with the Huguenots. With this view,

they engaged divers persons to take by surprize some of their fortresses , and to offer sundry insults to our Henry, and the Prince of Condé. Moreover, they raised so many factions on all sides, complaints were so general, and a convocation of the states so loudly called for , that the King was obliged to comply with their request. They assembled therefore at Blois, and began in the month of December 1576. The Huguenots were not at all sorry for that convocation, because they imagined that the commons, who are generally the strongest party, and who have the greatest reason to dread war , would vote for a confirmation of the peace. But so strong was the cabal of those who were for war , that it was resolved to carry it on vigorously against them.

It was , however , thought proper to depute before hand some of the members of the assembly to the King of Navarre , who was at that time besieging Marmande , as also to the Prince of Condé , to exhort them to return to the Catholic Church.

The King of Navarre answered very prudently that nothing could make him happier than to serve and obey his Majesty ; that he had much rather seek for occasions of honor

in foreign countries , than to be under the necessity of making war against Frenchmen ; that he besought his Majesty to indulge him in the exercise of that Religion he was brought up in ; that he every day prayed God to keep him stedfast in it , if it was the right one , but if not , to give him the grace to quit , and power to extirpate it. An answer fraught with so much sense and reason deserved some attention ; but so strong was the faction of those who were for war , that no regard was paid to it. The King was obliged to declare himself head of the league , and thus , from a sovereign became the leader of a faction , and an enemy to a part of his subjects.

But to be revenged of the Duke of Guise , who was the occasion of all those troubles , he issued out an edict whereby the Princes of the blood were ever after to have the precedence of all other Princes and Peers as well at the King's coronation as in Parliament and at other assemblies. This considerably lessened the dignity of the Duke of Guise , who by the ancient and constant usage of the kingdom , had , to that very hour , the precedence of the Princes of the blood who were not Peers , or whose Peerage was of a latter creation than his.

Agreeably to the resolution of the states, the King levied three or four armies, which were sent against the Huguenots in Dauphiny, Languedoc, Guienne and Poitou, and which reduced them to very great extremities. Nay, such was their consternation, that their destruction would have been inevitable had it been vigorously pursued; but the Queen mother, who only wished for war to be involved in difficulties, but not to get out of them, prevailed upon the King her son to grant them peace.

After the conclusion of the treaty, the Queen mother took a journey into Guienne, under pretence of having it punctually executed, and of carrying her daughter Marguerite to the King of Navarre her husband; but, in fact, she went purposely to sow the seeds of discord amongst the Huguenots, in order to be the mistress in that, as she was in the Catholic party. Henry kept his little court at that time at Nerac. He had kept it, before that, at Agen, where he was much beloved by the people, on account of his goodness and justice. But some young men of his train, instigated by their lewd desires, happening to put out the candles at a ball, this so scandalized the inhabitants,

that they delivered their town to Marshal Biron, whom the King had sent as Governor into Guienne.

Shortly after, he also lost la Reole by another piece of folly of young people. He had given the government of that place to an old Huguenot Captain named Ussac, who was frightfully ugly in the face. His difformity nevertheless did not prevent him from falling in love with one of the Queen mother's maids, for she had a good many of them, and that too the most enticing she could find.

Viscount Turenne, afterwards Duke of Bouillon, then one or two and twenty, took it into his head to be merry upon him with some others of the same age with himself. Henry, instead of imposing silence on them, as he ought to have done, joined the party, and, as he had a great deal of wit, he helped them out with some keen strokes of rallery against this antiquated lover. There is no passion which renders the human heart so susceptible as love. Ussac was unable to bear the jest even of his own master, and forgetting what he owed his honor and his religion, he went immediately and delivered la Reole to Duras. This Nobleman

who had been in favor with the King of Navarre, had quitted him out of spight because he did not shew him as much affection as he did to Roquelaure, who was, undoubtedly, one of the honestest, and most agreeable men of his age.

From those two losses, of Agen and of la Reole every Prince should gather two very instructive and very necessary lessons.

« The first is, that it is a Prince's business to keep rule and order amongst his courtiers, and the more, as their excesses are placed to his account, on the presumption, that it is he who commits them, because he should and does not prevent them.

« The second is, never to indulge rallery. There is no one vice which creates so many enemies, nor indeed so dangerous, because they lie concealed. A word that, coming from the mouth of a private person, would be but a slight scratch, is a thrust of a dagger coming from the mouth of a Prince, and leaves an implacable enmity in the breast.

« Nor must Princes be flattered with the
« persuasion that their subjects and inferiors
« are made to suffer every thing at their hands;

« because, where honor is concerned, the more
« the person who wounds is above us, the
« deeper is the wound; as the impression of a
« body is in proportion to its weight, and to
« the height from which it falls ».

The Queen mother, as has been already observed, had conducted Queen Marguerite to her husband, to the great dissatisfaction of both parties. Marguerite who loved the splendor of the court of France, where, if I may be allowed the expression, she swam in an ocean of intrigues, looked upon being in Guienne as a sort of exile; and Henry, who was well acquainted with her disposition and conduct, would much rather have her far away from him than near him. However, as it was an evil he could not remedy, he resolved to put up with it, and left her at full liberty to do as she pleased. He considered her rather as the King's sister than his own wife; for he pretended there were some essential defects in his marriage, which he would shew in time and place. Accommodating himself, however, to the times, and to the necessity of his affairs, he endeavoured to turn her intrigues and her interest to his advantage. Indeed she was of singular use to him in

the conference , which he and the Huguenot Delegates had with the Queen mother at Nerac, for while the Queen mother thought to captivate them by the charms of the beautiful young women she had with her , and by the eloquence of Pibrac ; Marguerite , on the other hand , turned the same arms against her , gained over the Gentlemen who attended her mother by the attractive charms of her maids , and employed her own so effectually , that she quite fascinated poor Pibrac's mind and will ; inso-much that he acted wholly by her impulse , and in a manner directly contrary to the intentions of the Queen mother , who never suspecting so wise a man could be capable of such folly , was egregiously taken in in many points , and , by degrees , induced to grant the Huguenots much more than she was resolved to do.

The peace had scarce lasted eight months , when the Queen mother , Monsieur , and the Guises began to be tired of it. The Queen mother , because she did not chuse the King should be so long without having occasion for her negociations and interference ; Monsieur , because in rekindling the flames of war , he thought he should make himself formidable to

the King, and be supplied with troops to make war in the low countries, which had rebelled against Spain, and demanded him for their sovereign; and the Guises because they feared lest the ardor of the league should cool during too long a calm.

With these views, they pressed the King to demand back the places of safety he had yielded up to the Huguenots while Monsieur and the Queen mother sent underhand to desire the King of Navarre not to restore them; to hold it out; that his cause was just, and that there was no safety for him but in arms. Queen Marguerite, who knew his weak side, and who wished for war, excited him thereto by the persuasions of her beautiful maids, whom she had instructed for that purpose; in like manner, and by the like means did she fire all those of any courage who approached her, while she herself, by every art in her power, endeavoured to do the like by the Viscount Turenne so that this Prince, with little justice perhaps, but certainly without any cause, broke off the peace, and involved the Huguenots in a new civil war, which, for the above-mentioned reasons, was called *the war of Lovers*.

It was the most unfortunate one to them they had as yet been engaged in. They lost most of their places of strength, and were reduced to such a pitch of weakness, that, had the war been vigorously pursued, they were past all recovery. But Monsieur, who wished to lead the united forces of both parties into the low countries, became mediator for peace, and procured it for them by an edict which was drawn up after the conference of Fleix.

This peace was attended with almost more fatal consequences to the state, than all the foregoing wars. The two Courts of the two Kings plunged themselves into all manner of voluptuousness, with this difference however, that Henry was not so profoundly lulled asleep by his pleasures, as not sometimes to think of his affairs, being roused and awakened by the remonstrances of the ministers of his Religion, and by the reproaches of his old Huguenot Captains who spoke to him with great freedom. But Henry the third was totally sunk in luxury and sloth. He seemed as if he had neither heart nor motion; and his subjects should not have known he was in existence, had they not felt it by the weight of the taxes he was every

moment loading them with , and which turned only to the profit of his favourites.

He had always three or four of them at a time: those who began to enjoy his favor then were Joyeuse and the two Nogarets, to wit, Bernard and John Lewis, the elder of whom died five or six years after, and the younger was made Duke of Epemon, one of the most famous and extraordinary men that ever was raised to court favor, and whose eminent accomplishments were undoubtedly equal to his fortune. But the King's excessive liberality to all these favourites excited the murmurs and complaints of the people, who found themselves trampled upon by them; and their enormous greatness gave offence to the Princes, who thought themselves slighted; so that they became the objects of general detestation. This hatred of the favourites fell back upon the King; and what added still more to it was, the violent measures they forced him into against his Parliaments, to oblige them to register his edicts of taxes and creations: for if by his authority he enforced the enacting his will, he drew down curses on himself, and if, as it frequently happened, he was stopped by the vigorous opposition of those courts, he only made himself despised.

The people, who generally abuse the Prince whom they can no longer esteem nor revere, in their licentious discourses spared neither him nor his favourites; and the Guises, whom the King's Minions (for so they were called) thwarted on every occasion, using every art in their power to get their employments and Governments for themselves, failed not to blow the flame, and improve the animosities of the people, and especially of the great towns, which the favourites always dreaded, and which always detested the favourites. Those were the chief causes that promoted the league, and hastened the death of Henry the third.

To relate all the intrigues of the court for the space of five or six years, and the war of the low Countries, from whence he returned with nothing but shame, would be foreign to our subject. I shall therefore pass them over. Suffice it to say that, in the year 1584, Monsieur died at Chateau-Thierry without having been married; that Henry the third had no children, and was publicly known to have been incapacitated from ever getting any by an incurable distemper he had got at Venice on

his return from Poland. It is for that reason, that, when Monsieur was pronounced by the Physicians to be past recovery, the Guises and Queen mother went separately to work to secure to themselves the crown, as if the succession was open to them. Both of them looked upon the King of Navarre as nothing, because he was beyond the seventh degree, where, in ordinary successions, there is no consanguinity: besides, he was not of the religion which the Kings of France, down from Clovis, had professed, and consequently was disqualified from wearing the crown and the title of most Christian. Add to this, that he was then two hundred leagues from Paris, and as it were confined in a corner of Guienne, where they thought it would be an easy matter to beset and oppress him.

The Queen mother had some thoughts of placing on the throne the children of her daughter married to the Duke of Lorrain, and was for having them stiled Princes of the blood, as if the crown could fall to a distaff. She was induced thereto, not only by the love she had for them, but likewise by the secret hatred she bore the King of Navarre, because she saw,

that, contrary to her wishes, heaven seemed to open the way for him to the throne.

But tho' a woman of sense, she was very much mistaken to suppose the Duke of Guise would favor her design. It is more than probable, and the event proved it, that the insolence of the favourites, and the ill treatment he met with from the King on their account, prompted him to think of securing the crown for himself: » For ill usage only drives noble and elevated « souls, into despair ». Such was the case with this Prince; but as he knew very well he never could compass his end by himself, as it would be a difficult matter for him to divert the natural affection of the French for the Princes of the blood; it occurred to him to endeavour to gain the old Cardinal of Bourbon, who was uncle to the King of Navarre. With this view, he promised him, that on the death of Henry the third, he would employ all his forces, and those of his friends to place him on the throne. The poor man, quite broken with old age, and gulled by those vain, but flattering, hopes, suffered himself to be made the stalking-horse of this Duke's ambition, who, by those means, drew to his party a great number of Catholics

who were attached to the house of Bourbon.

There was only question of knowing, which had the better right to precedence in the succession, the uncle or his eldest brother's son. This point was variously discussed by the lawyers, and many treatises were written on it, some in favor of the uncle, and some of the nephew; but that was only a paper-war and the sword was to decide the contest. The Duke of Guise was thought by many able Politicians to have acted contrary to his interest and even his design, by acknowledging the Cardinal de Bourbon's right to succeed to the crown, since it was owning that, after his death, which seemed near, it would belong to the King of Navarre his nephew; but 'tis most likely he thought he should crush him before he would have time to come to the throne.

Henry the third was not ignorant of his scheme, being apprised thereof by his favourites, who saw inevitable destruction stare them in the face, should the Duke of Guise succeed. He, therefore, wished above all things to bring back the King of Navarre to the Catholic faith, in order to take away from the leaguers the spe-

cious pretext they had of keeping up the league. With this view he sent the Duke of Epernon to him, who endeavoured by every argument that interest or policy could suggest, to make a convert of him. Henry listened to him very calmly, but told him those motives were not powerful enough to make him change, and dismissed him with great courtesy.

The Huguenots had the vanity to print and publish the conference of this Prince with the Duke of Epernon, to shew how stedfast he was in his belief, and perhaps too, to bind him the closer to it. On the other hand, the Duke of Guise failed not to turn it to his advantage; by shewing Catholics the obstinacy of this Prince, and what was to be expected from him, if once he ascended the throne with such evil sentiments.

To obstruct, therefore, his way to it, he excites the zealots openly to renew the league and boldly to avow it in the public streets in Paris, where some monks, by means of confession, inflamed the minds of the people with that religious ardor. The first public meeting of the league was at the college of Fortet, which, for that reason, was called the cradle of the

league. Many citizens, lawyers, and even some Vicars of Paris entered into it, and it was carried to Rome, and presented to Pope Gregory the thirteenth for his approbation, which he refused, nor did he ever, as long as he lived, either abet or avow it.

No sooner did it acquire a little strength, than those who were the authors of it, plainly shewed that their design was not so much to secure religion for the future, as to be, from that moment out, nearer the throne themselves; and that they hated not only the King of Navarre, the next to the crown, but Henry the third himself, the reigning King.

They hired certain new Divines who had the assurance to maintain that a Prince who acquits himself ill of his duty ought to be deposed: « That a well-regulated authority alone
« is of divine institution; that when it is made
« to serve evil purposes, it is no longer a lawful
« power, but highway robbery; that it is as
« absurd to call a man King, who is totally
« ignorant of the art of governing, and wants
« even common understanding, as it is to
« believe a blind man may serve as a guide, or
« a statue give motion to animated beings ».

In the mean while the Duke of Guise was gone to his government of Champagne, under pretence of being dissatisfied, but in reality to get the league signed by the Duke of Lorraine, whom he fed with the hopes of placing his son on the throne, to which he laid a claim by his mother, Henry the second's daughter. A conference was, therefore, held for that purpose at Joinville, at which, were also the King of Spain's Agents, who signed the treaty, and gave the Duke of Guise vast sums of money in bills of exchange.

At the breaking up of this conference, the Duke of Guise collects troops from all quarters, whilst his friends were seizing upon as many places, as they could, belonging not only to the Huguenots, but even to the Catholics themselves. The King could have easily dispersed those new-levied forces, had he taken the field; but the Queen mother, who, like covetous Physicians, only aimed at increasing the evil in order to find her own account in it, keeps him at home under various pretences, and persuades him, that, if he will leave her the management of that affair, she will soon bring the Duke of Guise back to his duty. With this view, she

enters into a conference with him at Vitry, and, by that means, gives him time to strengthen his party.

When he sees himself in a situation to fear nothing, he breaks off the conference, and makes a feint to march directly to Paris. The King greatly terrified entreats his mother to accommodate matters, cost what it will; this she accomplishes by the treaty of Nemours, by which he gives the Duke of Guise and other Princes of his family Governments upon Governments, and considerable sums of money, and, into the bargain, a most severe edict against the Huguenots. By this edict they were strictly prohibited to profess any other than the Catholic Religion, on pain of forfeiting their lives and goods; all ministers and Predicants were ordered to quit the kingdom within a month, and all Huguenots within six, or else to abjure their false doctrine. This edict was called the edict of July, and the league forced even the King to bring it to the Parliament, and have it registered.

Shortly after, news arrived from Rome, that Sixtus V, who had succeeded Gregory the thirteenth, had at length approved of the league,

and had, besides, fulminated dreadful Bulls against the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, declaring them heretics, relapses; chiefs, abettors and protectors of heresy; and as such liable to the censures and penalties pronounced against them by the laws and canons of the Church; depriving them and their offspring of all estates and dignities; rendering them incapable of succeeding to any principality whatsoever, but especially to the kingdom of France; absolving their subjects from the oath of allegiance, and forbidding them to shew them any obedience.

It was then our Henry stood in need of all his courage and virtue, to bear him up against such dreadful shocks. He lay fast asleep, as it were, in the lap of pleasure; the noise of these thunder-claps awoke him. Having, therefore, recollected himself, and recovered all his virtue, he began to exert it with a vigor he had never displayed on any former occasion. Indeed he often confessed afterwards that he was very much indebted to his enemies for having urged him on in that manner; because, had they left him at rest, idleness might, perhaps, have buried him in a corner of Guienne, and he

would not have been forced to think of his own affairs; so that, in case of Henry the third's death, he would not have been able to take possession of the crown.

He then did two actions that made a great deal of noise in the world. The first was, he ordered Plessis-Mornay, a Gentleman of great learning, and unexceptionable character, only that he was a Huguenot, to answer the manifesto of the league by an apology, and a declaration wherein, after having complained of the divers calumnies that had been industriously circulated by the heads of the league against his honor, he, most humbly besought the King his sovereign, not to take it ill, if with all due respect to his Majesty he said, they most falsely and maliciously lied: moreover, to spare the blood of the Nobility, and prevent the desolation of the poor people, and the infinite variety of excesses occasioned by the licentiousness of war, and above all, blasphemies, rapes, and conflagrations, he offered the Duke of Guise, head of the league, to decide the contest in single combat, one against the other, or two against two, ten against ten, in short, any number he would think proper, with arms

used betwixt Gentlemen of honor, either in the kingdom, in any place his Majesty would please to appoint; or abroad, in whatever place the Duke himself would pitch on.

This declaration had a surprizing effect on people's minds. 'Tis not possible, said they, to use force, with any color of justice, against a man who thus submits to reason. The greater part of the Nobility approved likewise of his generous proceeding, and loudly declared the Duke of Guise could not decline so great an honor.

The Duke did not want for courage to accept the challenge. But he considered that drawing a sword against a Prince of the blood, was looked upon in France as a kind of parricide; besides, it would be reducing the cause of Religion and that of the public, to a private dispute. He, therefore, answered very prudently, that he had a veneration for the King of Navarre's person; had no quarrel at all to him; that he only interested himself for the Catholic Religion, that was in danger, and for the tranquillity of the state, which entirely depended on the unity of Religion.

The other action was this. As soon as he

had heard the noise of the thunders which had been levelled at him by the Pope, he sent immediately to the King to complain of the outrage, observing to him, that his Majesty was more nearly concerned in it than he himself; that he ought to consider, if the Pope took upon him to dispose of his succession, and declare a Prince of the blood incapable of enjoying the crown, he might afterwards go a step farther, and dethrone himself, as Zachary is said formerly to have done to Childeric the third with unwarrantable insolence.

These remonstrances had the desired effect: the King prohibited the publication of those Bulls in his kingdom. But the King of Navarre was not satisfied with that: as he had friends at Rome, some of them had the boldness to post up, in the most public streets in the city, his and the Prince Condé's protestations, wherein these two Princes appealed to the Peers of France from the Pope's sentence; gave the lie to whoever charged them with the crime of heresy; offered to prove the contrary in a general Council, and, in fine, vowed to be revenged of him and all his successors, for the insult offered to their King, to the Royal

blood, and to all Parliamentary Courts in general.

One would imagine that so spirited a proceeding should have irritated, to the last degree, the mind of Sixtus V. In fact, he was at first very much concerned at it; however, when his anger had subsided a little, he could not but admire the heroic courage of our Henry, who, at so great a distance, could revenge an insult, and set up the marks of his resentment on the very gates of his palace: so that he conceived the highest esteem for him, (so true it is, that virtue makes itself respected by its very enemies) and he was often heard to say, that, of all the Princes in Christendom, there were only our Henry and Queen Elizabeth, to whom he would communicate, were they not heretics, the mighty projects he was revolving in his mind. Thus, all the entreaties of the leaguers could never induce him to furnish them with money to carry on the war, which rendered abortive most of their enterprises, because they depended on a million of livres which he had promised them.

Now, as the heads of the league endeavoured to engage on their side as many Lords

and towns as they could; the King of Navarre, on his side, called together all his friends of both Religions; Marshal Damville-Montmorency, Governor of Languedoc; the Duke of Montpensier, Prince of the blood, who was Governor of Poitou, and the Prince of Dombes his son; the Prince of Condé, who had a part of Poitou, of Xaintonge and of Angoumois; the Count of Soissons, and Prince Conti his brother. Of these five Princes of the blood the three last were his first cousins, and the two first were likewise his cousins, but in a more remote degree, and all of the Catholic Religion, except the Prince of Condé. He had likewise of his party, Lesdiguieres, who, from a simple Gentleman, had raised himself by his valor to such a degree, that he was master of Dauphiné, and made the Duke of Savoy tremble; Claude de la Trimouille, Duke of Touars, a young nobleman of illustrious birth, full of sprightliness and wit, and very powerful both in Poitou, and Britany, who had lately turned Huguenot, and had the honor of marrying his sister Charlotte to the Prince of Condé; Henry de la Tour, Viscount Turenne, who had also embraced the Protestant Religion; Chatillon, a son of Admiral Coligny; la Boulaye, a nobleman of Poitou; René,

head of the house of Rohan; Francis, Count of la Rochefoucault; George de Clermont d'Amboise; the Lord d'Aubeterre; James de Caumont-la-Force; the Lord de Pons; Saint-Gelais-Lansac, with many other Lords and Gentlemen of distinction, for the most part of the new Religion. At the same time, he dispatched such skilful negociators to Elizabeth Queen of England, and the Protestant Princes of Germany, that they prevailed upon them to enter into a strong combination for their mutual support; so that, contrary to the expectations of the leaguers, the King of Navarre found himself strong enough to defend himself against any attacks of his enemies.

I shall not enter into a detail of the exploits of both parties during the years 1585, and 1586, because they afford nothing worth notice.

King Henry the third was heartily tired of that war, which was carried on at his expence, and to his great detriment, since the dispute was entirely about his succession, tho' he was alive and in good health, and that he was already looked upon as a dead man. He loved neither one party nor the other; but so unac-

countably blind was he in his affection for his favourites, that, had it been possible, he would willingly have divided his kingdom between them. The leaguers, on their side, thought the ballance of power was in their favor; and the King of Navarre flattered himself with the hopes of defeating the schemes of both the one and the other. The Queen mother, having other projects in view for the children of her daughter, married to the Duke of Lorraine, promised the King to lay all those storms. For this purpose, she got a truce made with the King of Navarre, which procured an interview between her and him at the castle of Saint-Brix near Coignac, where they both met in the month of December.

It was with the utmost difficulty that securities were found to satisfy both the one and the other, but, especially the Queen mother, who was exceedingly diffident. Our Henry behaved on this occasion in a manner that did infinite honor to his generosity. The fact is this. A truce had been granted for the safety of that interview, and it was agreed, on both sides, that, whichever party broke it first, all those that were of it should be liable to be seized

and arrested. Now , some of the King of Navarre's troops , pretending to be traitors , had lured some Catholic Captains that were too eager for plunder , with the hopes of taking Fontenay which they would have let them take. By these means, the Catholics would have stood convicted of perfidy , and the Queen mother would have been liable to be arrested. But the generous Henry , far from availing himself of that deceit , was no sooner informed of it , than he severely reprimanded the contrivers of it , and ordered a stop to be put to it immediately.

Having , on this occasion , given a proof of his generosity , he , in the whole course of that conference, shewed himself to be a man of great wit and equal resolution. The Queen , asking him what he wanted: nothing that you have got there , Madam , said he , looking at the young Ladies that attended her ; thereby giving her to understand , that he never would let himself be again seduced in to such snares. Her chief endeavor was to separate him from his party, or raise suspicions against him , by offering him whatever he would ask in private ; but he saw through her wiles , and told her once

for all, he should not listen to proposals that he could not communicate to his friends.

After a long conversation, she asked him again whether or no she had taken all that trouble to no purpose; she who wished for nothing more than peace and quiet. That is not my fault, Madam, answered he: it is not I who hinder you from sleeping in your bed, 'tis you that hinder me from sleeping in mine: the trouble you give yourself pleases you, you feed upon it, and quiet is the greatest enemy of your life.

He made many other quick and witty repartees; but the most remarkable of all was that which he made to the Duke of Nevers, of the house of Gonzague, who attended the Queen mother.

This Duke having one day taken the liberty to tell him it would be much more honourable for him to be with the King, than amongst people over whom he had little or no authority, and that if he wanted money, he had neither power nor interest enough to lay a tax at Rochelle: « You mistake, Sir, answered he boldly; « I can do what I please at Rochelle, because « I never wish to do any thing but what is « right ».

This conference of Saint-Brix having, therefore, served only to create new animosities, and the Queen mother being returned home, the Guises, who tried every method to be revenged of the favourites, made a tender of their services to the King of Navarre, and the Duke of Mayenne sent him word, that, if he pleased, there was still room enough for an accommodation; that he would wait on him, wherever he thought proper, with four horses, and give him his wife and children as hostages.

This negociation proved ineffectual, and I never could find out the reason why it was broken off.

The courts of the two Kings passed the rest of the winter in feasting and dancing; for in the midst of all the miseries and troubles of the state, Queen Catherine had introduced the custom of dancing in all places, and in all seasons: and this, they say, she did to amuse her children, and the other Grandees of the court, with those vain diversions, there being nothing more capable of relaxing the mind, and melting, as I may say, the soul, than the ravishing sounds of violins, the continual agitation of the body, and the charms of the fair sex.

In imitation of the court, balls and mascarades prevailed throughout the whole kingdom; and all the remonstrances of the ministers were unable to extirpate dancing from amongst the greatest part of the Huguenot Lords, tho' there were always some of them who had an unconquerable aversion to it.

At the opening of the spring, the two parties began their military operations one against the other; but they were nothing in comparison to those that took place towards the end of the campaign. The Protestant Princes of Germany sent an army of five thousand Lansquenets, sixteen thousand Swiss, and six thousand Reisters to the assistance of the Huguenots. This army crossed Lorrain and Champaign, passed over the Seine, and marched towards the Loire, as if it had a mind to pass it, or coast it along in going up the river. At that very time the King of Navarre had collected his forces near Rochelle, and endeavoured to come and meet his allies on the banks of the Loire, but was hindered by the King's army commanded by the Duke of Joyeuse, who had orders to follow him every where. The Duke of Guise, having also collected the forces of his party,

sometimes followed the Reisters, sometimes came up with, or went before them, and even frequently mixed with them without much danger, because those foreign troops were so incumbered with baggage, that they could not easily move; besides, they wanted a commander of proper authority and capacity to head them, all their Captains being disunited, and at variance one with the other.

Thus circumstanced, they never came to any good determination. The Loire was fordable in a hundred places, for it was about the end of September, and yet they would not pass it; but marched into the plains of Beausse, waiting for news from the King of Navarre, instead of advancing into Nivernois, and thence into Burgundy. The King of Navarre's intention was to go up along the banks of the Dordogne, and thence into Guienne, where he was to collect all his forces together, and then go and meet the Protestant army in Burgundy. The Duke of Joyeuse pursued him very closely, imagining that he was flying, because, in fact, he avoided coming to an engagement, as his only aim was to form a junction with the Germans.

This new Duke was very much fallen from the favor of the King, who perceived that he inclined towards the league; not that he loved the Guises, but because his flatterers had made him believe, that he deserved to be at the head of that great party.

He looked upon the destruction of the Huguenots as a thing so sure, that he had obtained from the Pope the confiscation of Henry's Demesnes. Wishing, therefore, to support his reputation, and sinking favor, he followed him so closely, that he came up with him at Coutras.

Joyeuse's army glittered with gold and tinsel, damasked arms, bushy feathers, embroidered scarfs, and velvet coats, which each Lord, according to the custom of those times, had ornamented his company with. That of the King of Navarre was all iron; with unpolished, unornamented arms, great leather collars, and clothes suited to the fatigues of war. Besides the advantage of number, which was very considerable both in horse and foot, the former had, on its side, the King's name and authority, besides a certainty of being rewarded; but the half of it was composed of new-levied troops, without

order or discipline ; it had a General without power, a hundred commanders instead of one, and all of them young men brought up amidst the pleasures of a court, full of courage, but without any experience.

Henry's, on the contrary, was composed of the choicest men of his party, the old remnants of the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, men brought up to arms, and hardened by the continual shock of adversity and of war. It was commanded by three Princes of the blood; the first of whom was well obeyed, and revered as presumptive heir to the crown, beloved by the soldiers, and the hope of all true Frenchmen; besides, it was armed with weapons much stronger than steel or brass, the necessity of conquering or of dying.

Orders being given, the King of Navarre called together all his commanders, and from a little eminence exhorted them in a few words, but such as suited his quality and circumstances. He took heaven to witness that he did not fight against his King, but only in defence of his Religion, and to support his own right: then addressing himself to the two Princes of the blood, Condé and Soissons: *I shall say*

nothing to you, said he, more than that you are of the house of Bourbon, and God's life I shall let you see that I am your chief.

He distinguished himself that day beyond all the rest by his bravery. Having put a plume of white feathers on his helmet, the better to be remarked, and because he was fond of that color, some of his men placed themselves before him, in order to defend and cover his person; but he cried out to them, *aside, I pray you, don't stand before me, I wish to be seen.* This bravery so necessary to a conqueror would be only temerity, and an unpardonable fault in a Prince well established on the throne. He forced the enemy's first ranks, made some prisoners with his own hands, and even went so far as to collar a certain Chateau-Regnard, Cornet of a compagny of Gendarmes, saying to him, *surrender, Philistine.*

The battle being gained, some one seeing those who had fled, making a halt, came and told him that Marshal Matignon's army was in view. He received this information as an addition to his glory, and boldly turning to his men, *come, my friends, said he, you will see what has never been seen before, two battles in one day.*

It was not his valor only that made him admired on that occasion , but likewise his justice , his moderation , his clemency. Of his justice , the following particulars are related.

He had debauched the daughter of an officer at Rochelle , which dishonoured that family , and very much scandalized the Rochellois. In the very moment the armies were ready to charge , and prayers going to begin , a minister took the liberty of representing to him that God could not favor his arms , if he did not first beg pardon for that offence , and make a public reparation for the scandal he had given , by restoring to an injured family the honor he had robbed it of. The good King humbly listened to his remonstrance , and throwing himself on his knees , begged pardon of God for the fault he had committed , and prayed those who were present to be witnesses of his repentance , and to assure the Girl's father , that , if it pleased God to grant him life , he would make every possible reparation for the injury he had offered him.

So christian a submission drew tears from every eye present , and there was not one there that would not have sacrificed a thousand lives

for a Prince who could so cordially submit to give satisfaction to his inferiors.

Having thus conquered himself, God gave him the victory over his enemies. They were cut in pieces, with the loss of five thousand men, besides their cannon, baggage and colors: their head officers were all taken, except the Duke of Joyeuse and S. Sauveur his brother, who were in the number of the killed. That evening the conqueror finding his house full of prisoners and wounded enemies, was obliged to have the cloth laid at Duplessis-Mornay's; but Joyeuse's body being stretched on the parlor table, he supped up stairs, where, during all supper time, he was presented with the prisoners, fifty six Ensigns of foot, and twenty two Guidons and Cornets.

In this glorious and brilliant spectacle, what gave most pleasure to the generous, was, to see that, amidst so many causes of vanity and pride; so many and just reasons to resent the grievous injuries he had received, and which incline the mildest tempers to haughtiness and cruelty, there was not the slightest perceptible alteration either in his countenance, his words, or his behavior. His good nature was unshaken,

and he shewed himself as kind and gentle in victory, as he had been brave and dreadful in battle. He dismissed most of the prisoners without ransom, restored their baggage to many, took the greatest care possible of the wounded, gave the bodies of Joyeuse and S. Sauveur to Viscount Turenne who had asked them of him as being their relation, and the next day dispatched his master of Requests to the King to sue for peace. From his behaviour on this occasion, it was easy to foresee that, sooner or later, he would prevail over his enemies, and that nothing could subdue a Prince whom such prosperity was unable to vanquish.

He was, however, blamed for not having pursued his victory, and for having broken up his gallant army which he could in time have made use of to atchieve some great exploit. It is thought, and with some color of reason, that he did not chuse to push matters too far, for fear of giving too great cause of offence to the King, with whom he wished not to break off entirely, because he hoped that, some time or other, he would be reconciled with him, and that he should return to court, where his presence was necessary. To secure the crown to

himself, in case of Henry the third's demise. In short, whether for that, or some other reason, he went back to Gascony, and from thence to Bearn, under pretence of some business, carrying along with him but five hundred horse, and the Count of Soissons, whom he hoped he could induce to marry his sister. The Prince of Condé returned to Rochelle, and Turenne to Perigord.

In the mean time, that great army of Reisters, after sustaining many losses in divers places, and especially at Anneau in Beausse, where the Duke of Guise killed or made prisoners three thousand Reisters; and after that at the bridge of Gien, where the Duke of Epernon took twelve hundred Lansquenets, and almost all their cannon; willingly listened to an accommodation proposed to them by the King, and afterwards retired through Burgundy and the County of Montbelliard, whither they were closely pursued by the Duke of Guise.

It was then the beginning of the year 1588, which the judicial astrologers, in their prognostics, always called the wonderful year, because they foresaw so many strange events, and such confusion in the natural causes, that they had

foretold it would see the end of the world, or at least an universal change in it. The number of dreadful prodigies that happened all over Europe, gave no small weight to their presages. In France, there was an earthquake in Normandy and all along the river Loire : the sea was for six weeks together so convulsed by storms and tempests, that it seemed as if heaven and earth were coming together : divers fiery phenomena appeared in the air ; and the twenty fourth of January Paris was covered by so thick a fog, that the best eyes could see nothing in mid day without the help of torches. All those prodigies seemed to portend what happened shortly after , the Prince of Condé's death, the barricadings of Paris , the subversion of the whole kingdom , the murder of the Guises and the parricide of Henry the third.

As for the Prince of Condé, he died in the month of march, at Saint-Jean-d'Angely, where he then resided. Tho' there was a secret jealousy between the King of Navarre and him so as to have each of them his particular faction in the party, yet Henry was extremely affected by that loss , and shutting himself up in his closet , with the Count de Soissons , he was

heard to lament aloud, and say that in him he lost his right arm. However, when his sorrow subsided, he recovered himself a little, and trusting wholly in divine providence, he came out, saying, with a heart full of Christian assurance : *God is my refuge and my support, in him alone I hope, I shall not be confounded.*

It was indeed a very great loss to him. He was for the future to bear alone all the weight of affairs; and being destitute of that support, he was more exposed to the wicked attempts of the leaguers, who had only to dispatch him, and they were sure of gaining their point. But the Duke of Guise had too great, too noble a heart ever to suffer such detestable ways to be made use of, whilst he was alive. The death of the Prince of Condé gave additional courage and boldness to the leaguers. They had public rejoicings on the occasion, and said it was a just judgment of God. The Huguenots, on the contrary, were in the utmost consternation, considering they had lost in him their surest and most trusty chief, because they thought him thoroughly convinced of their Religion, which they did not of the King of Navarre.

Indeed, such was the confusion that reigned

amongst them , that their destruction seemed unavoidable , had it been pursued , with any vigor.

The King would have willingly consented to it, for he mortally hated them; but he wished, to manage matters so , as , by destroying them, not to ruin himself, and advance the Duke of Guise to boot. The Duke was not ignorant of his intentions , and was continually pressing him to furnish him with forces to give the finishing blow to the Huguenots , in whose ruin he hoped infallibly to involve the King of Navarre.

He had this advantage over the King : he was very much beloved by the people , principally for two reasons : the first was , that he opposed new taxes ; the second , that he gave no quarter to the favourites , and never bent to them. A quite contrary behavior had sunk the King to the lowest extremity of contempt, and had even estranged many of his servants from him. The following is a proof of it.

The King had in his council two very great men , Pierre d'Espinac , Archbishop of Lyons , and Villeroy Secretary of state. The proud and haughty Duke of Epemon treated them super-

ciliously; they were offended at it, and, through pique, took part with the Duke of Guise whom they loved, tho' 'tis certain that, in their hearts, they still remained faithful to the King, and to the interest of France, as they made appear afterwards, especially Villeroy.

In the mean while, the King lived, as usual, in all the profuseness of an odious prodigality, and in the sloth of a contemptible retreat, passing away his time either in looking at dances, or caressing little dogs, of which he had a great number of all sorts, or in teaching parrots to speak, or in cutting images, or such like occupations, more worthy of a child than a King.

But the Duke of Guise lost not his time: he gained new friends; preserved his old ones; flattered the people; shewed great zeal for Ecclesiastics; took under his protection those who were oppressed; and appeared every where with the splendor and dignity of a Prince, without any mixture of pride or ostentation.

The Parisians loved him to intoxication; and all blindly followed his motions, except the entire Parliament, and the greatest part of the other public Officers, who preserved in-

violate their fidelity and affection to the King.

Numbers had signed the league : but as the Aldermen of the sixteen quarters of Paris could not be prevailed upon to sign it , some of the most sanguine leaguers were elected to supply their places , and perform their functions , which made them and the heads of that faction be afterwards called *the sixteen* , tho' more than ten thousand in number , but they were scattered in the sixteen quarters of Paris.

The King, chiefly at the instigation of the Duke of Epernon, resolved to punish the most violent of those sixteen , who , upon every occasion , gave furious proofs of the hatred they bore this favourite. This he thought a sure way to cut off the league , and sink the reputation and credit of the Duke of Guise. He , therefore, secretly got troops introduced into Paris , and gave orders to have them seized.

The Duke of Guise on hearing this , made all the haste he could from Soissons , where he then was, determined either to save his friends or perish with them. In a word , the barricades begin on the tenth of may , and are carried on to the gates of the Louvre ; and the King's troops are either cut in pieces or disarmed.

The Queen mother, according to her custom, undertakes an accommodation; but the King fearing to be surrounded, takes the alarm, and retires to Chartres.

The leaguers, now masters of Paris, possess themselves of the Bastille, the town house, the Louvre and the Temple; they remove the Mayor of Paris, and, the Lieutenant Civil; they secure to themselves Orleans, Bourges, Amiens, Abbeville, Montreuil, Rouen, Rheims, Châlons and more than twenty other towns in the different provinces. Nothing was heard on every side, but *long live Guise! long live the protector of France!*

This mightily exasperated the King, and not without some reason. The Parisians send deputies to him to Chartres in order to ask pardon, and, at the same time, to demand the extirpation of heresy. All those about him only serve to increase his fears, and depress his spirits. Thus circumstanced, he imagines the surest way to avert the danger that threatens him, is to make his subjects, if possible, lay down their arms. With that view, he sends his master of Requests to the Parliament, to inform them that his final resolution was to forget all that

was past, provided every one returned to his duty, that he meant seriously to set about a thorough reformation of his kingdom; in order to which he thought it proper to assemble, at the end of the year, the states general, where care should be taken that none but a Catholic, and a Prince of the royal blood, should succeed him. He protested he would inviolably adhere to all the resolutions of the states, provided they were free, and without faction, and that, from that day forward, all his subjects laid down their arms.

This last condition did not at all please the Duke of Guise. He feared lest, being defenceless, he should be at the mercy of his enemies, and particularly of the Duke of Epernon. He, therefore, prevailed on the Parisiens to send deputies to the King, to demand the continuation of the war against the Huguenots, and the expulsion of that Duke.

The King, after some resistance, granted their demands, for he issued out an edict, which he got registered in Parliament, very much in favor of the league, and exceedingly severe against the Huguenots, and he dismissed the Duke of Epernon, who retired to his government of Angoumois.

After that , the Duke of Guise , under the safe guard of the Queen mother's word , went to wait on the King at Chartres ; gave him great assurances of his fidelity , and received every mark he could desire of the King's affection , who went even so far as to make him Grand master of the French Gendarmery.

In the mean time the leaguers had made themselves masters of all the provinces on their side of the Loire , and had those , whom they thought proper , named deputies of the states. In the month of November the states met together at Blois. I shall not relate here the various intrigues that were practised on that occasion : suffice it to say , that the King , from a persuasion that a conspiracy had been formed to dethrone him , ordered the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal his brother to be put to death ; and detained prisoners the Cardinal de Bourbon , the Archbishop of Lyons , the Prince of Joinville , who , after his father's death , was called the Duke of Guise , and the Duke of Nemours.

The Queen mother , on whose word the Guises thought themselves safe , was so affected by the reproaches she received on their account ,

and by the contemptuous behavior of the King her son, who now thought he should no longer want her, that she died of grief and care a few days after, unregretted by any person, even her own son, and universally detested by all parties.

As to the Duke of Guise's murder, the King's servants justified their master by saying he had been provoked thereto by the extreme audacity of the Guises, and that, if he had not prevented them, they would have had his hair cut off, and himself shut up in a convent. But the bad name of Henry the third, and the general esteem those Princes were in, together with the odious circumstances of that murder, made it appear horrid in the eyes even of the Huguenots themselves, who said it bore a striking resemblance to the massacre of Saint Bartholomew.

Our Henry, with his usual prudence, kept a medium on this occasion; he pitied their death, and praised their valor. But he said the King must have had very strong reasons for using them in that manner.

That, for his part, he could not sufficiently admire the judgments of God, and his particular

favor to him, in revenging him of his enemies, whose death, he could safely say, he was no way concerned in; that some Gentlemen had, more than once, offered themselves to him, with a determined resolution to go and kill the Duke of Guise; but that he always gave them to understand he abhorred such a proposal, and that he should never look upon them as his friends or men of honor, if they thought of it any more.

On hearing the death of the Guises, he called together his Council, who were of opinion that circumstance should make no alteration in the measures he had adopted, with regard to the conduct of his affairs; because, however inclined the King might be to peace, it would be some months before he would dare to mention it to him, for fear it should be thought, he had put the Guises to death, in order to favor the Huguenots: so that he continued the war, and took some towns.

In the mean while a series of events opened Henry the way to the very center of the kingdom, and conducted him again to court, the very thing he should most wish for.

After the death of the Guises, Henry the

third, instead of mounting his horse, and appearing where his presence was most necessary, squandered away his time in examining the resolutions of the states of Blois, and by that means the league, which so great a blow had staggered, had time to recover itself. The great towns, and especially Paris, that were possessed by that frenzy, were at first thrown into the utmost consternation by that event; but their apprehensions soon gave way to pity, and pity to rage. The sixteen elected the Duke of Aumale for their Governor; the Clergy, and especially the Preachers, inveighed most bitterly against the King; the populace tore off his arms from every place they met with them, and dragged them in the dirt; the Parliament, for endeavouring to stop this torrent of public rage, was imprisoned in the Bastille by Bussy le Clerc, a simple attorney, but in great repute amongst the sixteen. To get their liberty again, they were obliged to take the oaths tendered to them by the leaguers. When they got out of the Bastille, there were many of them who continued to hold the Parliament at Paris, the rest stole away by degrees to the King, who transferred the Parliament to Tours, where they

held their sessions till the reduction of Paris, in the year 1594. The latter, no doubt, shewed themselves more faithful to their King; but those, who remained at Paris, served him much more efficaciously, as we shall see hereafter.

It was to the latter that the Duke of Guise's widow presented her petition; requesting an enquiry to be made into her husband's death, and demanding Commissaries to bring those to a trial, who should be found guilty of it. The Attorney General's verdict was very much in her favor; and the proceedings on this head were carried to a great length, even against Henry the third himself: but how far, is not well known, because the leaves were torn out of the records of the Parliament, when Henry the fourth became master of Paris.

« Such insurrections against the sovereign
« cannot be sufficiently detested. But those
« examples should teach him, that, tho' he may
« hold his power from above, yet obedience
« depends on the caprice of his subjects; and
« that he ought to act in such a manner, as not
« to incur their hatred: otherwise, how is it
« surprizing, that men, who are bold enough

« to rise up against God himself, should not
« dare to rise in rebellion against Kings ».

During these transactions, Henry the third was informed of his having been excommunicated by Pope Sixtus V, for the murder of Cardinal de Guise. The flames of that mighty conflagration spread, in a short time, from one end of France to the other. The Duke of Mayenne, who was then at Lyons, to make war with the Huguenots of Dauphiné, having received intelligence of what had happened, by an express from Rossieu, his secretary, quits that town, hastens to his government of Burgundy, makes sure of Dijon and the whole Province; from thence passes into Champaign, where he is received with open arms; then to Orleans, which had already revolted, and to Chartres, which on his approach, rose up in arms likewise; and in short comes to Paris.

He was advised by the sixteen, and many of his friends to take the title of King, which they would have had conferred upon him by the council established by the leaguers; but he refused it, contenting himself with that of Lieutenant general of the state, and of the crown of France, which he assumed, as if the throne had

been vacant. The King's seals were broken, and others made, on one side of which was the escutcheon of France, and on the opposite side an empty throne with this inscription: *Charles, Duke of Mayenne, Lieutenant general of the state and crown of France.*

All France took part on this occasion, and almost all the towns and provinces of the kingdom siding with the Duke of Mayenne, the King was afraid of being surrounded at Blois, and withdrew to Tours. He had but one way left to defend himself against the many dangers that, on all sides, threatened him; and that was to call to his assistance the King of Navarre, who had five or six thousand veteran soldiers on whose affection he could depend. But this he was afraid to do, lest he should be thought an abettor of Heretics, and thereby incur the censure of violating the edicts which he had so solemnly sworn in the states of Blois to put in force against the Huguenots. He tried, therefore, all possible means to appease the Duke of Mayenne's resentment, and made him very advantageous offers. But what security, said the leaguers, could the Duke ever get, after his brothers had been so treacherously murdered?

Seeing, therefore, the Duke would listen to no proposal of accommodation, Henry the third was forced to have recourse to the King of Navarre.

This Prince first insisted on having a free passage on the Loire. The town of Saumur was given him, the government whereof he gave to le Plessis - Mornay, who fortified the castle, and made it the chief place of strength of the Huguenot party. He then drew near Tours, but his old Huguenot Captains inspired him with diffidence, and prevented him, for some time, from waiting on the King, who, on an occasion where treachery was so necessary to extricate him from the difficulties, which the affair of Blois had involved him in, would, they feared, purchase absolution at the expence of the King of Navarre's life.

The Duke of Epemon, who was come back to court, to serve his master occasionally, and the Marshal d'Aumont, pressed him in vain, and gave him their word, that nothing should befall him; his friends would never consent to his thus exposing his life to the faith of a Prince whom they had so much reason to suspect.

Their fears, no doubt, were well grounded; and our Henry was as sensible of it as they: however, after having well weighed the matter, and considered that there was question of saving France, of serving his King, and defending the crown that he himself was one day to wear, he resolved to venture all, and wholly to trust himself to the sovereign protector of Kings.

Tours is situated as it were in an island, a little above the place where the Cher joins the Loire, after having run along side of it for three or four leagues. The King of Navarre was advised by his friends not to venture in between these two rivers; they were for fixing the interview beyond the Cher. But, Henry carried it, almost singly, against them all; however, to content them, he thought it necessary to hold a council on the river's side, and to allow his Captains to go over it first, to sound, as it were, the ford. He crossed it after them, and went to Plessis-les-Tours at three o' clock in the afternoon, in a dusty war-coat, all worn out by the cuirass, being the only one of his followers who wore a cloak, all the rest of them being in doublets, and ready to carry arms, to shew that he came to serve his Majesty, and not to pay his court.

He went to meet the King, who was hearing Vespers at the convent of the Minimes. The crowd was so great, that they were a long time in the alley of the mall before they could come up to each other. When our Henry was within three steps of the King, he threw himself at his feet, which he endeavoured to kiss; but the King would not suffer it, and raising him up, he embraced him three or four times with great tenderness, calling him his dearest brother, and our Henry calling him his King and Lord. It was then the crowd burst into the joyous acclamations of *God save the King!* which had not been heard for a long time before, as if our Henry's presence had revived the affection of the people, which Henry the third seemed entirely to have lost.

After the two Kings had discoursed together for some time, the King of Navarre crossed the river again, and went to lodge to the suburb of S. Simphorien; for he had been obliged so to promise to his old Huguenot Captains, who thought there were snares laid for them wherever they went. But our Henry, who was actuated by a far different motive, and with whom it was a maxim, that life should not be

considered, when there is any thing to be gained more precious to a man of spirit than life itself, went out next day at six o' clock in the morning, unknown to any of his followers, and crossing the bridge, attended only by a Page, came to wish the King a good morning. They had two or three long conferences, in which the King of Navarre gave great proofs of his judgment and capacity. The result of them was, in gross, a resolution to raise a powerful army, and besiege Paris, which was the chief head of the hydra, and gave life and motion to all the rest. This would be the more easy, as the King expected a great supply of troops from Switzerland, where he had sent Sancy for that purpose: besides, the news of this siege being made public, numbers of soldiers and adventurers would infallibly crowd to it in hopes of so rich a plunder.

The two Kings having passed a couple of days together, our Henry went to Chinon to order the rest of his army to advance, for as yet they were afraid to mix with the Catholics.

During his absence the Duke of Mayenne, who had taken the field, came to attack the suburbs of Tours, and was very near taking

the town and the King himself by surprize , by means of some intelligence he had got : but , after a bloody fight , seeing his first efforts were unsuccessful, he lost all further hopes of gaining his point, and immediately retired.

The King's army being since that time surprizingly increased , he and the King of Navarre marched together to Orleans , took all the small places in its environs, thence came down into Beausse , and then all of a sudden marched towards Paris. All the adjacent posts, such as Poissy, Estampes , and Meulan, were either taken by storm or obtained a capitulation , for the security of which , they only desired the bare word of the King of Navarre , which they had more dependance on , than on all the written promises of Henry the third : because he was publicly known to keep his word , even at the expence of his own interest.

« Let us here consider a while the different
« situations to which the two Kings had re-
« duced themselves by their different conduct.
« The one, for having often broken his promise,
« was deserted by his subjects , and his most
« sacred oaths found no credit amongst them.

« The other , for having always religiously kept
 « his, enjoyed the confidence even of his greatest
 « enemies. On every occasion he gave proofs
 « of his valor , of his experience in war , and ,
 « above all , of his prudence , and noble incli-
 « nation to do good , and oblige every body.
 « He was hourly seen in the places of the great-
 « est danger , urging the works , encouraging
 « the soldiers , supporting them in sallies , re-
 « lieving the wounded, and distributing money
 « amongst them. Nothing escaped his notice ,
 « he informed himself about every thing.
 « Ever ready to praise a great or good action ,
 « he received with the utmost kindness and af-
 « fability all those who approached his person;
 « he conversed with them when he was at lei-
 « sure , or , at least , obliged them with some
 « agreeable word , insomuch that they always
 « went away satisfied.

« He was not afraid of making himself fa-
 « miliar ; because he was well assured , the
 « better he was known , the more he would be
 « loved and esteemed. In a word , his conduct
 « and manner were such , as to gain all hearts,
 « and he had not a single friend , who would
 « not , with the greatest pleasure , lay down his
 life for him ».

Paris was already besieged ; the King had taken up his quarters at Saint-Cloud , and the King of Navarre at Meudon , occupying with his troops all that space between Vanvres and the bridge of Charenton. Sancy was already arrived with the Swiss troops , and orders were preparing for giving a general assault to the suburbs on their side of the river. The Duke of Mayenne , who was in the city with his troops , waiting for those the Duke of Nemours was to bring him , was in great apprehension lest he should not be able to sustain the furious shock with which he was threatened : when a young Jacobin of the convent of Paris , named Jacques Clement , formed the execrable and diabolical resolution of killing Henry the third , which he executed by giving him a stab of a knife in the belly , of which he died the following day. If that frenetic monster had not been killed on the spot by the King's Guards , many things would , perhaps , have come to light , which have never been known.

The King of Navarre being very late at night informed of this dreadful accident , and of the danger the King was in , went to wait on him , attended only by five and twenty or thirty Gentle-

men. No sooner did he enter the King's room, than he threw himself on his knees to kiss his hands, and receive his last embrace, before he expired. The King called him many times his good brother, and his lawful successor; recommended the kingdom to his care; exhorted the Lords there present to acknowledge him, and be united amongst themselves. In a word, after having conjured him to embrace the Catholic Religion, he expired, leaving his whole army in unexpressible amazement and confusion, and all his chiefs and Captains in a state of irresolution, and anxiety, that differed according to the particular humours, attachments and interests of each.

PART THE SECOND.

HENRY the third's death entirely changed the face of affairs. Paris, the league and the Duke of Mayenne passed, all of a sudden, from deep sadness to frantic joy, and the late King's servants, from the hope of soon seeing him revenged, to the utmost consternation.

This Prince, who had been the object of public detestation, being now no more, one would imagine that hatred should cease, and, of course, the ardor of the league abate: but, on the other hand, not only all those who composed this faction, but likewise many others, who would have deemed it a crime to join in a league against Henry the third, their lawful and Catholic King, thought themselves bound to oppose Henry the fourth, at least till such time as he returned to the bosom of the true Church, which they looked upon as absolutely necessary in order to succeed Charlemagne and Saint Lewis: so that, had the leaguers lost that ardor which hatred had kindled in their breasts,

a zeal for Religion would have supplied its place, and this would have been a more plausible pretext for not laying down their arms, till Henry should profess the faith of his ancestors.

It was no easy matter to determine whether this unfortunate parricide happened at a favourable juncture for him or not: for, on one hand, it seemed Providence had drawn him from the remotest part of the kingdom, where he was, as it were, exiled, and had brought him by the hand, on the most conspicuous stage in France, in sight of Paris, with no other view than to make his goodness and his virtues known, and thus open the way for him to a succession, which, had he been absent, he never would have been called to. But when people came to consider how many powerful enemies he had ready to fall upon him; how ill provided he was with either money or troops; the obstacle of his Religion, with a thousand other difficulties; it was not easy to judge whether the crown had fallen on his head to adorn or to crush it; and one could say with truth, that, if this event raised him up, it was upon a shaking throne, erected on the brink of precipices.

While Henry the third was in the agonies of death, our Henry held many councils in a hurry, in the same room, with those he looked upon as his most faithful servants. When he heard he was dead, he withdrew to Meudon, where he put on violet-coloured mourning. He was, at first, followed by numbers of the nobility, as much through curiosity, as affection. The Huguenots, and the troops he had carried with him, immediately swore allegiance to him; but their number was very small. Some of the Catholics too, such as the Marshal d'Aumont, Givry and Humieres swore allegiance to him, and plighted vows of eternal service to him, without asking any condition of him: but the most part of the rest, either from want of inclination, or from pique, or imagining perhaps that was the time to sell their services to advantage, kept out of the way, and formed little assemblies in divers places, where they framed a thousand fantastical projects.

Each of them proposed to make himself sovereign of some town or province, as the governors had formerly done in the decline of the house of Charlemagne. Marshal Biron, amongst the rest, wished to have the county

of Perigord; and Sancy, to content him, spoke of it to the King. The matter was very nice: for, to refuse the Marshal, was to provoke him; and to grant his request, was opening a door for all the rest to make the like demands, which could not be complied with, without pulling the kingdom to pieces. Nothing but the extraordinary genius of this great Prince could extricate him out of this difficulty. He, therefore, ordered Sancy to assure the Marshal of his affection, of which he would give him, in time and place, every proof a good subject could expect from his sovereign; but at the same time he alledged so many powerful reasons why he could not comply with his request, that Sancy himself yielding to their force, easily communicated his own conviction to Biron, and prevailed on him not only to renounce his pretension, but even to protest he never would suffer any part of the state to be dismembered in behalf of any person whatsoever.

Biron, being thus gained over, went with Sancy to make sure of the Swiss troops which Sancy had levied for the late King; but who, being all from Catholic Cantons, made a scruple of carrying arms for a Huguenot Prince, without

further orders from their superiors. As to the French troops of Henry the third, it was not so easy to gain them: the Lords who commanded them, and who held the chiefs under their dependency, had each of them different views according to their different interests or whims.

There were six Princes of the house of Bourbon; viz. the old Cardinal Bourbon, the Cardinal Vendome, the Count of Soissons, the Prince of Conty, the Duke of Montpensier, and the Prince of Dombes his son, who, instead of being the firmest supports of the throne, gave Henry no small trouble, as each of them had his particular pretension, which always stood in his way.

Many of the Lords in the army were not much better affected to him; especially Charles, grand Prior of France, natural son of Charles the ninth, (who was afterwards Count of Auvergne, and Duke of Angouleme); the Duke of Epemon and Termes-Bellegarde, who, from an apprehension they formerly had, that he would put them out of favor with their master, had thwarted him on various occasions.

As to the Courtiers, such as Francis d'O, and Manou his brother, Chateau-Vieux and many

others, who knew our Henry abhorred their shocking debaucheries, and that he would not be so prodigal as to exhaust his finances to supply their extravagance and vicious courses, they were not over well inclined towards him: however, finding they could do no better, they designed to declare in his favor, but with restrictions which would check, and make him in some manner dependant on them.

With this view they met together with some of the nobility at d'O's, a very extravagant and sensual man, and consequently not very scrupulous; but who then would be thought conscientious, in order to make himself necessary. Here they came to a resolution not to acknowledge him till he had embraced the Catholic faith. Francis d'O, with a few more Gentlemen, had the assurance to carry this resolution of the assembly to the King, to whom he made an elaborate speech, to persuade him to return to the Catholic Religion. But the King, who was already recovered from his greatest fears made them an answer mixed with so much mildness and dignity, so much firmness and moderation, that, without snubbing them, he let them see he was desirous of having them;

but, that, after all, he would not be much concerned for their loss.

Shortly after, there was a numerous meeting of the nobility at Francis de Luxembourg's, Duke of Piney, where various proposals were made. But, the Dukes of Montpensier and Piney, managed matters with so much skill and address, that they brought the most troublesome and violent amongst them to this determination; that Henry should be acknowledged King, on condition, 1°. that, within, six months, he got himself instructed in the Catholic faith; for they took it for granted, that his conversion would be the necessary consequence of that instruction: 2°. that he tolerated the exercise of no other Religion but the Catholic: 3°. that he gave no places or employments to the Huguenots: 4°. that he permitted the assembly to send deputies to the Pope, to acquaint him with the motives that obliged them to remain in the service of a Prince separated from the church, and to beg his approbation of their conduct.

The Duke of Piney brought this resolution to the King, who thanked them for their zeal for the preservation of the state, and their affection to his person; promised them he should ever retain a grateful sense of the services they

rendered him, and willingly granted them every point they had asked, except the second; instead of which he promised to reestablish the exercise of the Catholic Religion in all his dominions, and to restore the Ecclesiastics to the possession of all their estates. With this view, he got a declaration drawn up to that purpose, and, after having it signed by the Lords, and Gentlemen of distinction there present, he sent it to that part of the Parliament, then sitting at Tours, to have it registered.

There were many of them who signed it with regret, and some absolutely refused to sign it at all: of this number were the Duke of Epernon and Lewis de l'Hopital-Vitry. The latter, troubled, as he said, with scruples of conscience, got into Paris, and, for some time, gave himself up to the league; but, before he took that step, he threw up his government of Dourdan which the late King had given him. Such was, in those times, the maxim of the men of real honor, that, in quitting any party whatsoever, they likewise threw up the places they held of that party, and gave them up to those who had entrusted them to their care.

The Duke of Epernon protested he never would join either Spain or the league; but said his conscience would not allow him to be with the King; accordingly, he asked leave to go to his government, which Henry, very unwillingly, consented to, after having done every thing in his power to keep him. However seeing it was in vain, he, after many civilities and commendations, let him go; tho' sorely vexed in his heart at his deserting him, for which he ever after owed him a secret grudge as long as he lived.

The Duke of Mayenne was very much perplexed in Paris, with regard to the measures he was to pursue. He saw that all the Parisians, even those who were of the late King's Party, were indeed resolved to provide for the safety of Religion; but that all wished for a King, except a few of the sixteen, who thought they could make a Republic of France, and divide it into Cantons like Switzerland: but those were not powerful enough either in number, riches, or talents, to conduct a scheme of that nature, or carry it into execution. He was, therefore, advised by the greatest part of his friends, to take upon him the title of King:

but when he came to sound the people on that head, he found them averse to the proposal, as likewise the King of Spain, who was to be his principal support, and from whom he expected the means of subsistence.

Upon which he received two other advices: one was to come, with a good grace, to an agreement with the new King, who, no doubt, in the posture affairs were then in, would have granted him very advantageous terms: the other was to give the Catholics of the royal army to understand by a declaration, that, all resentments being extinguished by the death of Henry the third, he had now no other interest than that of Religion: that this being a point of divine obligation, in which all good Christians were concerned, he summoned and conjured them to join with him in exhorting the King of Navarre to return to the Church, promising, in that case, to acknowledge him for their King; but on his refusal, they protested they would put another Prince of the blood in his place. This advice, by far the best that had been proposed, came from Jeannin, President of the Parliament of Burgundy, one of the wisest and best heads he had in his council, and who,

superior to the little arts of subtlety and cunning, always acted with openness, but with deep sense, and singular honesty.

The Duke of Mayenne rejected equally both these advices, and followed a third, which was, to get the old Cardinal Bourbon, then detained prisoner by our Henry's orders, proclaimed King, and to secure to himself for life the title of Lieutenant general of the crown. He afterwards drew up many addresses to the Parliaments, Provinces, and nobility, inviting them to exert themselves in delivering their King, and defending the cause of Religion.

At the same time the King tried all the arts of negotiation and admonition to engage the Duke to seek after preferment in his friendship rather than in the troubles and calamities of France. But to this the Duke made answer, that he had plighted his faith to the public cause, and sworn allegiance to Charles the tenth (it is thus the old Cardinal Bourbon, named Charles, was called) to whom, in the opinion of the league, the crown belonged, as being the nearest relation to the late King.

However, the Duke carried on secret practices, and intrigues in the King's army, where,

scarce a day passed but his emissaries enticed away numbers of those even whom the King had the greatest dependence on. There were many generous enough to withstand money; but nothing was proof against the intrigues of the Parisian women, who artfully allured the Gentlemen and Officers into the city, and there made use of every method in their power to seduce them.

The King seeing that some of them were every moment caught in those nets, and that, if they even came back, there was great reason to fear, lest, bewitched by their mistresses, they should bring back some bad designs with them: knowing, besides, that the Duke of Nemours was advancing with his army, to join the Duke of Mayenne; who was likewise to be reinforced by that of the Duke of Lorraine; he was afraid of having his retreat cut off: so he thought it prudent to raise the siege.

But, previous to this, he writ to the protestant Princes, to give them an account of the motives of his conduct, and to assure them, that nothing was capable of shaking his resolution, or separating him from Jesus-Christ. He spoke then from his heart and conscience,

having no intention to change his Religion; tho' the ministers of his communion did not believe it, and watched him so closely on that score, that at last he grew tired of them.

It is impossible to express what he suffered, for the space of three or four years, from being obliged to listen to the continual exhortations of his ministers on one hand, and the pressing remonstrances of the Catholics on the other; for he had to quiet the suspicions of the former, and keep the latter in continual hopes that he would get himself instructed. What patience must he not have had? What address? What art and prudence did he not stand in need of to manage so great a variety of tempers and dispositions? It must be owned, it was a work that required the utmost exertions of wit and judgment.

« Thus, he found how necessary it is for a
« Prince early to cultivate his mind, and to be
« instructed in the arts of speaking and nego-
« tiating, in order to make use of his talents in
« time of need. He certainly was much indebted
« to those who had the care of his education,
« for having early introduced him to an ac-
« quaintance with men and business, and taught
« him the art of winning the affections of all».

The last duties he intended paying his predecessor, served as an honourable pretext for raising the siege. The better, therefore, to protect, his body from the insults and blind rage of the Duke of Guise's partizans, he conducted it to Compiègne, and deposited it in the abbey of S. Corneille, where he ordered the funeral ceremonies to be performed with all the magnificence the confusion of the times would permit. As he could not assist there in person, by reason of his Religion, he committed the care of them to Bellegarde and Epernon. The latter accompanied him thither, and then retired to Angoumois.

With regard to the place our Henry was to retire to, after raising the siege, there were three different opinions. The first was, to repass the Loire, and give up to the league all the provinces on the Paris side of that river, because he should have the utmost difficulty to keep them: the second, to go up along the Marne, make himself master of all the bridges and towns upon it, and there wait for the reinforcement of Swiss and German protestants which he expected: the third, to go down into Normandy, possess himself of some towns, the governors of which

had not as yet sided with the league, take up the sums arising from the receipts of the land tax, and there wait for the succour Queen Elizabeth promised to send him from England, and which he could not but receive very soon.

He resolved to follow this last advice : having, therefore, granted leave to the nobles who accompanied him, to go and pass some time at their respective homes, according to their own desire ; he sent a part of his army into Picardy, under the command of the Duke of Longueville, and another part into Champaign, under that of Marshal d'Aumont. He only retained three thousand French foot, two Swiss regiments, and twelve hundred horse, with which he went down to Normandy.

The Duke of Montpensier Governor of this province came and joined him with two hundred Gentlemen, and fifteen hundred foot. Rolet Governor of Pont-de-l'Arche, a man of wit and courage, brought him the keys of that place, desiring no other reward than the honor of serving his Majesty. Emar de Chattes, Commander of Malta, did the same with regard to the town of Dieppe; after which the King drew

near Rouen where he thought he had some intelligence.

This undertaking, as it had like to cost him very dear, so it added new lustre to his glory, by furnishing him with an opportunity of shewing how well he could extricate himself from so imminent a danger. The case was this.

The Duke of Mayenne came with all his forces to the relief of Rouen, and got over the river at Vernon. The King, thunderstruck at so unexpected a step, retires to Dieppe, and sends word to the Duke of Longueville, and Marshal d'Aumont to come, in all haste, to his assistance, with all the troops they had. In the mean while the Duke of Mayenne retakes all the small places about Dieppe, with a view to surround and block up the King in it. In fact, he reduced him to such straits, that, had he not preposterously amused himself with going to Bins in Hainault, to confer with the Duke of Parma, he could have easily destroyed the greatest part of his army. He had already spread the report all over France, and had even confidently written to all the foreign Princes, that he had the King of Navarre, for it is thus he called him, pent up in a little corner, from

whence he could not escape, without surrendering himself to him, or leaping into the sea. The danger appeared so urgent, even to his most faithful servants, that the Parliament, which was at Tours, sent a master of Requests express, to him, to inform him that the only expedient they saw of saving the state, was to make his uncle Cardinal Bourbon his colleague in Royalty, the one to have the management of civil, and the other of military affairs. The greatest part of the Captains of his army advised him to leave his troops strongly intrenched in their posts, and immediately to set sail for England or la Rochelle, lest, by delaying any longer, he should be blocked up by sea as well as by land. To the Parliament's proposal he made answer, that he had taken good care the Duke of Mayenne's intrigues should not release the Cardinal Bourbon, as it was feared he would; and Marshal Biron so strenuously opposed those who advised him to set sail, that they were forced to desist.

The event soon proved that the league's forces, tho' three times more numerous than the King's, were not formidable in proportion

to their number , and that the more chiefs there were, the less their efforts were to be dreaded.

The King had taken up his quarters at the castle of Arques , situated on a hill , to defend the passage of the valley that leads to Dieppe , which the Duke intended to take. He even made four or five different attempts, at different times , on the suburb of Polet , but was as often repulsed by the King , who , on those occasions , performed wonders , and exposed himself so much , that he was once in danger of being surrounded and taken by the enemy. In short , the Duke , after having lost eleven days , and about a thousand or twelve hundred men before the town , raised the siege , and retired into Picardy.

It was thought his motive for going to that province was the apprehension he was under , lest the Picards , a plain , open , but very simple people , should be imposed on by the artifices of the Spanish agents , who did all they could to engage them to throw themselves on the protection of the King their master.

It was also remarked , that his failing in his attempt on Dieppe , and his not attacking it for two or three days together , when he had fair

opportunities of doing it, was owing to the piques and jealousies that subsisted betwixt his head Officers, particularly the Marquis of Pont-a-Mousson, son to the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Nemours, and the Chevalier d'Aumale. For as they were persuaded the King would either be infallibly taken, or at least be obliged to fly, they were already disposing of the kingdom, as of their conquest, and, as each was laying plans to have the best part of it to himself, they all looked upon each other with a jealous eye.

It was further observed that in one of those combats of Dieppe, the Duke of Mayenne had the advantage in the beginning, and would have obtained a complete victory, had he advanced but one quarter of an hour sooner: but by his slowness in marching, he let slip an opportunity he never after met with: which made the King say: *If he does not go about it in another manner, I am certain I shall always beat him in the field.*

I have mentioned those particulars because they serve to discover the vice of that great body, the league, and furnish a clue for the investigation of the true causes that retarded

its progress, and reduced it to nothing. There were, in my opinion, three principal ones.

The first was the Duke of Mayenne's diffidence of the Spaniards; for tho' he could not do without them, yet he looked upon them as his secret enemies: as for them, they assisted him not for his sake, but for their own, and with a view to raise themselves on the ruins of France. Thus, when they saw he did not cooperate with them in gaining their ends, and that he looked only to his own interest, without thinking of theirs, they supplied him but feebly, and let him fall so low, that it was not afterwards in their power to raise him when they had a mind to do it.

The second was the continual jealousies and dissensions that reigned amongst the Commanders, who were more intent on thwarting and ruining each other, than on crushing their common enemy, and who, by these means, always failed in their greatest enterprizes: whereas in the King's party, there was but one head, who conducted every thing, and to whom every thing was referred.

The third was the natural heaviness of the Duke of Mayenne, whose motions were, in

l things, remarkably slow. This his flatterers called gravity. This defect, owing chiefly to his constitution, received an additional improvement, not only from the mass of his body, which was large and bulky in proportion, and consequently wanted much food and rest, but likewise from a coldness and numbness, which remained after a certain disease he had contracted in Paris a few days after Henry the third's death, for which he, very improperly, took it into his head to rejoice.

It was far otherwise with Henry the fourth: for tho' he was no enemy to good living, and loved to enjoy himself occasionally, with those he honoured with his intimacy; yet, whenever he had any affairs, either of war, or any other kind, he never sat at table more than a quarter of an hour, and scarce slept above two or three hours together: so that Sixtus V, having been informed of his manner of living, and that of the Duke of Mayenne, confidently foretold that the Bearnois (for that was the name he gave him, as did all the leaguers) could not fail to overcome, since he was not longer in bed than the Duke of Mayenne was at table, and that he wore out more boots, than the other did shoes.

As Officers and servants usually take example by their masters, so those of the King were ready, vigilant and careful: they executed his orders as soon as they were delivered; and, as nothing escaped their notice, they acquainted him with every thing. On the contrary, those of the Duke were slow, indolent, and careless, and never suffered any affair, how urgent soever, to intrude upon their pleasures or amusements. We are told his first secretary once left a packet of papers of the utmost importance four whole days unopened.

I mention these circumstances because I think them necessary to the better understanding this history, and likewise because they are replete with instruction.

At the end of the first part of this book, we have seen who the chief heads of the league were, and how they possessed themselves of almost all the best towns, and richest provinces in the kingdom. It would be an endless task minutely to relate all the factions, combats, enterprizes, and revolutions, that, for five or six years successively, took place in each province. We shall, therefore, pursue our subject through its main and most interesting points

only, and see how divine Providence, and the unparalleled virtue of our Hero extricated France from the labyrinth of its miseries; and how Religion and the state, which were on the point of destroying each other, by an irreconcilable war, were both miraculously saved, and flourished again with as much honor and glory as ever.

Tho' the Duke of Mayenne was no longer before Dieppe, yet every body was sure the King could not escape him. This was particularly the case with the Parisians, whom the Dutchess of Montpensier, by means of suborned expresses, persuaded at one time that he wanted to surrender, at another, that he had been taken, and, in fine, that they were carrying him to Paris; in so much that there were some ladies who hired windows in the rue S. Denis to see him go by.

While they were thus eagerly swallowing those false reports, how great was their surprise when they heard that Henry with a reinforcement of four thousand English, was on his march to Paris, knowing that the Duke of Mayenne, and the Duke of Nemours, his uterine brother, were gone to Picardy? He had

some intelligence within the city, who promised to favor his entrance into it, if he could make himself master of the suburbs. He attacked, therefore, those of S. Germain, S. Michel, S. Jacques, S. Marceau, and S. Victor, all which he carried at the very first onset, but he could not take the University quarter, because his guns did not arrive in time. At eight o' clock in the morning, on all-saints day, he entered the suburb of S. Jacques, and observed the people had no aversion to him; for they neither seemed terrified, nor ran away, but stood quietly at their windows to see him, and cried out, *God save the King!* For which reason, he made use of his advantage with great moderation: he forbade all kinds of violence and pillaging, and took care divine service should not be disturbed; so that his men and the inhabitants assisted thereat very peaceably together, while he himself, from the steeple of S. Germain, was attentively considering what was doing in the city.

That very evening, the Duke of Nemours arriving in all haste with his cavalry, and the Duke of Mayenne, the next day, with his infantry, the King retired to Montlhery; but not

before he had drawn up his army in battle array, in sight of Paris, and kept it under arms for four hours together, to shew the Parisians the weakness of their leaders.

After that, Estampes, Vendome, le Mans, and Alençon were unable to withstand his presence and his arms, and surrendered to him.

In the manner he went on, and the heads of the league defended themselves, he would have conquered the entire kingdom in less than fifteen months, had he not wanted money. It was this want alone that checked the progress of his prosperity. The ransoms he imposed on the towns he took by storm, the sums he borrowed, and those he drew from the customs, all that was not, by the half, sufficient to defray the expences of his army; for which reason, he was obliged, during four or five years, to carry on the war in an extraordinary manner. When his troops had served some months, and spent, besides their pay, what they had picked up in their quarters, he dismissed them, that they might have an opportunity of recruiting themselves, and at the same time, that they might defend their part of the country from the invasions of the league. In like manner, when the volunteer

Gentlemen who served him, had spent the money they had brought with them from home, he gave them leave to return, that they might spare as much as would do them for another campaign, inviting them by his own example to retrench the superfluous expences of clothes and equipages. Moreover, he treated them with so much civility and kindness, that they never failed him on urgent occasions, and returned as soon as possible, serving him, as it were, quarterly.

Be that as it will, he made a sudden descent upon Normandy, which he subdued almost entirely; having taken the towns of Dompfront, Falaise, Lisieux, Bayeux, and Honfleur, this last, after a very bloody siege. On his return he took Meulan upon the Seine, seven leagues from Paris, and laid siege to Dreux.

On hearing the news of those conquests, the Duke of Mayenne was, for the sake of his reputation, obliged to come out of Paris, to get his forces together, and accept, tho' much against his will, fifteen hundred lance-men, and five hundred Carabineers, sent him by the Duke of Parma, Governor of the low countries, under the command of the Count d'Egmont.

Beginning then by retaking some small places, which annoyed Paris, and its environs; he crossed the Seine over the bridge of Mantes in order to relieve Dreux, which he thought he could do without any hazard. 'Tis true, the King, on hearing of his march, raised the siege; but it was in order to engage him; and, with that view, he pitched his camp on the banks of the river Eure.

Two reasons chiefly determined him to give battle: one was, that he wanted money, and consequently could no longer keep his troops in a body: to lead them into Normandy, would be only making them consume, to no purpose, the revenue of that Province, which alone was of greater value to him, than all the other Provinces he was master of. The second, was the disposition he saw his soldiers in; indeed such was their chearfulness and joy, on being told they were soon to meet the enemy, that it was easy to perceive by their countenances, that a day of battle was to them a feast day.

The Duke of Mayenne was, by no means, inclined to expose his fortune and his honor to the hazard of an action, when he considered the valor of the King's troops compared to his

own; the great experience of that Prince, his unparalleled virtue, and, what was more, his good fortune, which had taken such an ascendant over his, that he thought it impossible to conquer it otherwise than by avoiding it. However, the reproaches of the Parisians, the remonstrances of the Legate, whom the Pope had sent to support the interest of the league; the Spanish party, which, whatever the event might be, flattered itself with the hopes of reaping no small advantage from this battle; in short, the shame of having lost above forty places in six months, without ever attempting to succour one of them; all these considerations drove him as it were, against his will, to the relief of Dreux. When he was near this place, he received false intelligence that the King was retiring to Verneuil in Perche, which, together with the bravado's of Count Egmont, who boasted that he was able, with his troops alone, to defeat the King's army, induced him to cross in all haste the river Eure over the bridge of Ivry.

In truth, the King and he were struck with equal surprize; the King, at hearing that the Duke had passed the river so speedily, and the

Duke, at seeing the King, whom he thought on the road to Verneuil, coming straight on towards him. But it was too late for either to recede, and they were forced, whether they would or no, to come to an engagement, which they did on the fourteenth of march near the little town of Ivry.

Historians have given us a long description of the field of battle, the disposition of the two armies, the attacks on both sides, with the oversights committed by the heads of the league: we shall, therefore, speak only of what personally concerns our Prince.

The uncommon skill, and indefatigable activity he displayed on that occasion, were much admired, and marked him out as a military genius of the first magnitude. He gave his orders with as much coolness and composure, as if he was sitting in his closet; the manner in which he drew up his army did honor to his judgment; but the total change he, in a quarter of an hour, made in his order of battle, after having discovered the enemy's design, was looked upon by all as a master-piece of military knowledge. During the engagement he was to be met with every where; he observed and conducted every thing,

as if he had a hundred eyes , and a hundred arms : the noise , tumult , dust and smoke , far from being a hinderance to him , seemed rather to quicken his senses , clear his understanding , and improve his judgment.

The two armies being in sight of each other , ready to charge , he lifted up his eyes to heaven , and joining his hands together , took God to witness his intention , implored his assistance , and besought him to induce his rebellious subjects to acknowledge him for their lawful sovereign , since he was so by the order of succession. *But if* , said he , *it is thy will , O Lord ! to dispose of it otherwise ; if thou seest I am to be one of those Kings whom thou givest in thy wrath , deprive me at once of life and crown ; grant that I may be this day the victim of thy holy will ; let my death deliver France from the calamities of war , and my blood be the last that will be shed in this dispute !*

Sending then for his head-piece , which was adorned with a plume of three white feathers , he took it , and , before he pulled down the visier , he thus addressed his men : *My fellow-soldiers and companions , if you share my fortune to day , I shall share yours in my turn :*

with you I am resolved to conquer or to die : take care to keep your ranks , I pray you ; but if in the heat of the battle you should chance to break them , remember immediately to rally ; upon that depends the fate of the day : see those trees yonder , pointing to three pear-trees that were on a rising ground , there will be your rallying-place . If you should lose your colors , standards , or guidons , don't lose sight of my white plume ; you will always find it in the road to honor and victory .

Fortune , that had long stood neuter , declared at last in his favor . Indeed it was to him the chief honor of that day belonged , in as much as he fell , with irresistible fury , on that formidable body of Count Egmont , rushing , sword in hand , through that forest of spears , which he rendered of little or no use , by forcing them to fight with short arms , at which his men had , by far , the advantage , the French being much nimbler , and handier than the Flemish : so that , in less than a quarter of an hour , he entirely routed and dispersed them , and , by that means , gained a complete victory .

Of sixteen thousand men , that composed

the Duke of Mayenne's army, scarce four thousand escaped. Count Egmont, with above a thousand horse was killed on the spot; four hundred persons of distinction, besides all the infantry, were made prisoners; the Lansquenets were cut in pieces. All the baggage, canon, colors, and standards were taken, viz. twenty standards of horse, the Duke's white standard, that of his Reisters, Count Egmont's great banner, and sixty pair of Colors.

The Duke of Mayenne behaved with becoming bravery, and made several fruitless attempts to rally his men; at last, fearing to be surrounded, he retreated towards the bridge of Ivry, and having got over it, he ordered it to be broken down, to stop those who pursued him, and fled to Mantes, from thence to Saint-Denis, and thence to Paris. A part of the run-aways attended him all the way, the rest took to the fields, and made the best of their way to Chartres.

The King, in the heat of the disconfiture, having got in too far amidst a squadron of Walloons, was in such imminent danger, that, for some time, he was thought dead by his army. Upon which Marshal Biron, who had not been

in the battle, but who stood by with a body of reserve, to hinder the enemy from rallying, could not help telling the King with his usual freedom; *ah! Sir, that is not just; you have this day acted Biron's part, and Biron has acted yours.*

This remonstrance met with the approbation of all present, and his chief officers took the liberty of entreating him not to expose himself any more in that manner, and to consider that he was not destined by Providence to be a Carabineer, but a King of France: that all his subjects were made to fight for him; but of what use could their arms be to them, if they lost the head, from whence they drew life and motion?

He distinguished himself, above all his officers, by his valor; but his clemency, his generosity, and his courtesy gave an additional lustre to his fine actions; and the use he made of his victory was a sure proof he owed it rather to his conduct, than to fortune.

He chose rather to grant the Swiss bataillons a capitulation than to cut them in pieces, as he could easily have done; he gave them back their standards, and had them conducted back

into their country by Commissaries, which gained him the affection of the five little Catholic Cantons.

There was nothing he desired so much as to make his subjects sensible how dear they were to him, and that in him they had to do with a merciful, compassionate King, and not with a cruel and unrelenting enemy. In the rout he had given orders to cry aloud, *save the French and put the foreigners to the sword*. He gave quarter to all such as asked for it, and saved as many as he could from the hands of his bloodthirsty soldiers. He used the prisoners, especially the Gentlemen, with the greatest humanity and politeness. He loaded with thanks, commendations, and marks of honor such of the nobility as had fought for him, sharing with them the glory of the day, and heaping civilities on them, as pledges of the rewards they were to expect from him, whenever he should have it in his power.

I cannot pass over in silence an action that shewed in a strong light the excellence of his heart; and contributed very much to gain him the affection of the officers and Gentlemen. Colonel Thische, *alias* Theodoric Schomberg

Commander of some companies of Reisters ; had been forced by the clamors of those hirelings to go , the eve of the battle , and demand of him their pay that was due , and to let him know it was on that condition alone they would fight. Such was the custom in those times amongst the Swiss and Germans. History furnishes us with a thousand examples of this kind. The King , incensed at the demand , answered : *What , Colonel Thische , does it become a man of honor to ask money at a time he ought to take orders for the engagement ?* The Colonel withdrew quite confused , and without making any reply. The next day the King having drawn up his army in battle-array , he remembered he had ill used him , and , forthwith stung by a remorse of conscience , which none but a generous soul could feel , he went and told him : *Colonel , we are now in the hour of danger ; it is possible I may fall ; it would be unjust to carry with me to the grave the honor of a brave man and a Gentleman like you : I , therefore , here declare publikly , that I consider you as a man of honor , and incapable of any baseness.* So saying , he kissed him with great cordiality : the Colonel then , with tears in his eyes , replied : *Ah ! Sir , in giving me back my honor you*

deprived me of, you take away my life; for I should be unworthy of it, if I did not this day lay it down for your service. Had I a thousand lives I would gladly pour every one of them out at your feet. In fact he was killed on that occasion, as were several other brave Gentlemen.

I shall relate another very fine action which admirably shews how lavish this Prince was of civilities and caresses to the Gentlemen who served him well. At night as he was supping at the castle of Rony, being informed that Marshal d'Aumont was coming to give him an account of what he had done, he immediately got up to meet him, and having kissed him most cordially, he invited him to supper, and made him sit down at table with him, adding these obliging words : *that it was but very just he should partake of the entertainment, since he had so well served him at his wedding.*

So great was the consternation in Paris after the loss of this battle, that, had the King gone there straight, there is no doubt but he would have been received without much difficulty. Some people said it was Marshal Biron that prevented him, because he was afraid of being considered the less, as the King would stand less in need of his services.

Others thought his Huguenot Captains and Ministers dissuaded him therefrom, for fear he should come to an agreement with the Parisians at the expence of his Religion, they therefore advised him to take that great city rather by famine. The Marquis d'O, then superintendant, was of the same opinion, and strenuously supported it on this ground, that should the King take it in that manner, he could treat it as a conquered city, draw vast treasures from thence, suppress the bank of the Townhouse, and thus defraud the inhabitants of the immense sums that were due to them by the King.

The widow of Montpensier, one of the chief Organs of the league, and who made it her business to feed the Parisians with false reports, to make some amends for the loss of the battle she was unable to conceal, said, it was true the Duke had lost it, but that the Bearnois was dead. This they believed for five or six days together, and that was sufficient to relieve them from their first fright, and afford them time to give the necessary orders, and send on every side for assistance.

The King having staid some days at Mantes

after the battle , on account of the great rains , took the field again ; made himself master of Lagny , Provins , Montereau , and Melun , without suffering himself to be any longer the dupe of the proposals of truce made to him by Villeroi. Then , after having made an unsuccessful attempt on the town of Sens , which was valiantly defended by Harlay Chanvalon , he came to block up Paris , and took all the circumjacent posts and Castles which he garrisoned with cavalry in order to scour the country.

The Duke of Mayenne was not in Paris : he had left the Duke of Nemours there as Governor with a garrison of eight thousand men , and was gone himself to Condé upon the scheld , to ask some assistance of the Duke of Parma. His perplexity was extreme , and he had very just reason to fear the loss of Paris , whether he succoured it , or let it be taken ; for he foresaw that if he introduced the Spanish troops into it , the leaguers would not fail to take advantage of that circumstance to assume their former authority , and , out of spite to him , perhaps deliver up Paris into the hands of the Spaniards : for he was not at all beloved by the sixteen ,

because he had broken their council of forty ; which checked his authority, and because , the better to knock in the head the republican form of government which they designed to introduce , he had created another council , a keeper of the seals, and four secretaries of state, with whom he governed affairs , without ever consulting or having recourse to them , but when he wanted money.

His perplexity was increased by a new subject of uneasiness , which was the old Cardinal Bourbon's death , that happened at Fontenay in Poitou , where he was under the guard of the Lord la Boulaye. He had every reason to fear lest this should give room to the Spaniards, and to the sixteen, to demand the election of a new King , and urge him so closely on that head, that, in the need he was in of their assistance , he should be forced to comply. Indeed it was the very first condition of the treaty of succour , which the Spanish Agents made with him : and he , for fear of displeasing them, expressed an ardent desire of assembling the states , with a view to elect a King , and removed the place of convocation from the town of Melun , where he had appointed it

to Paris; from a town that he had lost, to one that was besieged.

In the mean while, he got his friends to make use of all their interest with the Parliament, and at the Town-house, to have him continued in the lieutenancy general. He no sooner gained that point, than he shewed there was nothing he feared so much as a convocation of the states, which indeed would prove the ruin of his party, and which, for that reason, he did all in his power to obstruct.

Paris being blocked up, Cardinal Caëtan, the Pope's Legate, and the sixteen, omitted nothing to encourage the people. They consulted the body of Divines, and obtained from them such resolutions as they thought proper, against our Henry, whom they called the Bear-nois. Several processions, general as well as particular, were ordered to be made; the Officers took anew the oath of fidelity to the holy union, for so they called the league; while the Duke of Nemours, on his side, was doing all he could to put the city in a posture of defence. The inhabitants being, in general, persuaded, that, if the King took it, he would abolish mass, and establish the Protestant

religion there , contributed with incredible ardor and zeal , not only with their purse , but with their labor , to its fortifications.

There is not in the history of that period a more shining or interesting page , than the description of this blockade ; the orders that Nemours issued out on that occasion ; the garrisons he placed in divers quarters of the city ; the sallies that were made during the first month ; the contrivances made use of to animate the people ; the divers efforts and practices of the King's partizans to introduce him into the city ; the negotiations set on foot , on both sides , to try to adjust matters ; the scarcity of provisions , with the means employed to make them last ; and , in spite of the strictest oeconomy , all the miseries of extreme want ; in fine , how that great city , that was within three or four days of perishing by famine , was rescued by the Duke of Parma.

I shall only mention a few circumstances that seem to deserve particular notice. When the blockade began , there were only two hundred and thirty thousand souls in Paris , of which thirty thousand Peasants , from the country around , had fled to that city for refuge , and about a hundred thousand of the native inha-

bitants had withdrawn from it; so that there were only three hundred thousand souls, at that time, in Paris; whereas now they are thought to be double the number.

The King was made to hope that if the Parisians saw, for seven or eight days together, the markets without bread, the shambles without meat, the quays without corn, wine and the other provisions which the river is usually covered with, they would take their leaders by the throat, and force them to come to an accommodation with him; or, if the spirit of sedition did not hurry them on to that extremity, hunger would, in about fifteen days, compel them to it. In fact, there were provisions only for six weeks; but they were husbanded with great care, and those who flattered the King with such hopes, knew but very little of the people of Paris: for they are wonderfully patient, and there is no extremity, which, when properly managed, they will not endure, especially when Religion is concerned. We cannot read without astonishment of the blind submission, and constant unanimity of that proud and intractable people, for four months together, amidst continual losses, and

all the horrors of accumulated misery. So great was the famine, that they fed upon the grass that grew in the ditches; nay, upon cats, dogs and hides; some say even that the Lansquenets used to eat the children they could come at.

The Huguenots overjoyed to keep a city blocked up, that had done them so much harm, strenuously urged in the King's council, and got even some soldiers to cry out aloud, that it ought to be stormed, and that in six hours there would be an end of the affair. But the good and wise King was far from following an advice dictated by passion: he well knew their design in taking Paris by force, was only to have an opportunity of putting all to the sword, and revenging the massacres of S. Bartholomew. Besides, he considered that he would, by that means, lay waste a city, the ruin of which, like a wound in the heart, would, perhaps prove fatal to the whole kingdom of France: that he would, in one day, squander away the richest, and almost the only treasure of the state; and that none would gain by it but the soldiers, who growing insolent by the plunder of so rich a city, would either melt away in ease and the gratification of sensual pleasures, or quit him immediately after.

Those who had the care of the internal police of the city, committed a very great fault in not turning out all the poorer sort of the people, and all the useless mouths : the scarcity of provisions daily increasing, they at last considered on the means of remedying the evil, when it was too late : but finding none, they sent to ask the permission of the King to let a certain number of them pass, who in hopes of obtaining that favor, were already assembled at the gate of S. Victor, and had taken leave of their friends and neighbours in a manner that moved the most obdurate hearts.

The good and merciful King was easily prevailed on to grant them that favor; but those who composed his council, objected to it so strongly, that, for fear of displeasing them, he was forced to send those poor wretches back again. His humanity, however, could not long endure such violence. Having been informed by many, who, dreading death less than famine, had leaped over the walls, of the deplorable situation to which the city was reduced, the shocking scenes of distress which they had been witnesses of, and the incredible obstinacy of the leaguers; his heart was so oppressed

with grief, that the tears came into his eyes ; and turning a little aside to conceal his emotion , he , with a deep sigh , uttered these words : *O God , thou knowest who is the cause of all this ; but give me the means of saving those , whom the wickedness of my enemies is so obstinately bent on destroying.*

In vain did the most hard-hearted of his council , and especially the Huguenots , represent to him that those rebels deserved no favor ; he resolved to open the gate of mercy to suffering innocence. *I am not surprized* , said he , *that the heads of the league , and the Spaniards feel no compassion for those poor people , they are only their tyrants ; but for me , who am their father , and their King , I cannot hear mention made of their sufferings without being moved to the bottom of my heart , and without ardently wishing to remedy them. I cannot hinder those who are possessed by the fury of the league , from perishing with it ; but as to those who implore my clemency , I am resolved to receive them with open arms.* So saying , he ordered those wretches to be let out. Many of them crawled , others had themselves carried thither , to the number of about four thousand

in all, who, in a transport of joy and gratitude, cried out with all their might, *God save the King!*

From that day out, the Captains, when they were upon guard, used always to let numbers of them escape, knowing the King would not be displeased at it; they even took the liberty of sending provisions and refreshments to their friends, and old acquaintances, but especially to the ladies: « for Paris being the common
« country of all Frenchmen, there are very few
« who do not love it, and who have not in it
« some tie of love or friendship, which forbids
« them to wish the total destruction of that
« city ».

The soldiers, taking example by their Officers, allowed themselves to send bread, meat, and pieces of wine over the walls, and received in exchange some very good articles of dress, which cost them little or nothing, and with which they decked themselves out at the expence of the merchants. This the King was obliged, in some manner, to connive at, having no money to pay them; and this it was that made Paris subsist near a month longer than it otherwise would have done.

The King, however, knew perfectly well that great city could not hold out very long, and was desirous of gaining the hearts of the Parisians, in order to strike at the very root of the league. He, therefore, combated their obstinacy with an excess of indulgence: he granted passports to the scholars at the request of their relations, who were with him; then to the ladies, and Ecclesiastics; and, in fine, to those even who had shewed themselves his most inveterate enemies.

However, to bring the heads of the league the sooner to a capitulation, it was resolved upon in his council, to attack all the suburbs at once, which he executed on the night of the twenty seventh of July, with great success, having carried them in less than an hour, and blocked up all the doors, before which his men erected their lodgings, after terrassing the houses that were next the ditch.

This was taking the Parisians, as I may say, by the throat, and squeezing them so hard, that they could scarce breath. Their leaders, therefore, apprehending they could no longer keep them to their duty by prohibitions, exhortations or the fear of punishment, after ten or

twelve deliberations, thought it prudent to enter into a conference with the King, not so much with a view to close an accommodation with him, as, by protracting matters, to give the Duke of Mayenne time to come to their relief.

They heard from him twice a week, and each time, he promised to be with them, with a powerful army, in five or six days. Having flattered them on with these hopes for near six weeks, he, at last, advanced as far as Meaux, whereof Vitry was Governor, and from thence gave them some glimpse of succouring them, tho' he was in too weak a state to attempt it.

The Duke of Parma, who had received orders from Spain to go and join him, and relieve Paris at all hazards, was not very well pleased with the commission. He was afraid that in his absence, his government would be given to another, and that he should lose more in the low countries, than he could gain in France: but his orders were at last so positive, that he was forced to obey, tho' with the utmost reluctance. He set out from Valenciennes the sixth of August, and arrived at Meaux the twenty second. He had only twelve thousand

horse ; but an artillery , and warlike stores sufficient for an army, treble that number, besides fifteen hundred waggons loaded with provisions for Paris.

As he was , without doubt , the greatest general of that age , especially in those enterprises where deep reasoning and a judicious conduct were necessary ; he formed his plan so well ; he took his measures so judiciously , on the most exact maps of the country , and so wisely foresaw all that might happen him , that he did not in the least doubt of success.

Those who were about the King always made him believe that the Duke of Parma would not leave the low countries , and said , if he did , he could not muster up forces sufficient to enable him to venture into the heart of France , or even if he could, he never would arrive time enough to relieve Paris. The King was too much the dupe of this false reasoning ; but when he received certain intelligence that the Duke was on his march , he began to fear what afterwards happened him , and the danger appeared to him the greater , as it came on unforeseen.

This apprehension made him willingly renew

the negotiation with the Duke of Mayenne, who, on his side, pretended to wish for an accommodation more than ever, in order, by this means, to prevent his attacking Paris by storm, and to feed the Parisians with the hopes of a speedy deliverance; for famine had reduced them to such a pitch of desperation, that, with all his contrivances, it was impossible for him to contain them above five or six days at most.

When the Duke of Parma was within two days journey of Meaux, he sent word to the King that the Duke of Mayenne could no longer treat with him without his participation. The King's council was thunderstruck at this, and was a long time at a loss to know what measure to pursue. It was certainly a dishonourable thing for the King, and a very great stain on the reputation of his arms, to raise a siege that had lasted four months; and what made it still more mortifying to this brave and glorious Prince, was to be forced to raise it just as he was on the point of taking that great city, the reduction of which would be a mortal blow to the league.

There was but one step to take, and this,

tho' certainly hazardous, the King resolved upon. It was to leave a part of his troops in the suburbs, and to make choice of a field of battle, where the rest of the army could engage that of the Duke of Parma, without raising the siege. With this view the King, by the advice of la Noue, Guitry, and le Plessis-Mornay, left only three thousand men before Paris, on the University side, and drew up the remainder of his army in the plain of Bondy, between Paris and the Duke of Parma.

But Marshal Biron was entirely against this advice, and opposed it so strenuously, that it was resolved the army should advance as far as Chelles, and there give battle. It is not well known what induced him to take that step, whether it was jealousy, because he had not given the first advice himself, or because he thought it too dangerous to remain so near Paris, whence fifteen or sixteen thousand men could sally out on a day of battle, and fall upon their rear. However that may be, his authority was so great in the army, and it was so dangerous, in the circumstances they were then in, to contradict that hot-headed man, that they were forced to be led by him, and entirely

to raise the siege in order to go and post themselves at Chelles.

The Duke of Parma seeing this, did not think it expedient to engage, and accordingly intrenched himself without delay in a morass, and so strongly, that he was under no apprehension of being forced therein. He even boasted, that, in the situation he then was in, the King could not compel him to fire not even a pistol, and that notwithstanding all that, he would take a town before his eyes, and open a passage upon the river, to send provisions into Paris. In fact he was as good as his word; he punctually executed what he had said; nor was it in the King's power either to force him to an engagement, or prevent his taking Lagny upon the Marne. Thus Paris was entirely rescued, and received the next day an immense quantity of boats laden with all sorts of provisions: but the joy of the inhabitants did not equal their relief; for a long course of misery had so worn their bodies, and sunk their spirits, that they seemed wholly dead to every pleasurable sensation.

The Duke of Nemours's troops, animated by this timely succour, sallied forth every day,

with the most courageous of the inhabitants ; and cut off all provisions from the King's camp , so that , in a short time , every thing began to be very dear , diseases increased , and the Gentlemen , who had flocked thither in hopes of a battle , grew so impatient , that the King was obliged to call a council in order to consider of the means of remedying those evils.

He found his army so ill disposed , that he thought it more eligible to retreat than to expose himself to further disgrace : but , as he could not , without regret , drop his design on Paris , he tried once more , to carry it by scalade , on the University side , between the gate of S. Jacques , and that of S. Marceau. But failing in that attempt , he withdrew to Senlis and from thence to Creil : after that he took the town of Clermont in Beauvoisis , which annoyed Senlis and Compiègne , and then quartered a part of his troops in the towns about Paris , sent another into the Provinces to keep them under subjection , leaving himself but a flying camp.

After he was gone , the Dukes of Parma and Mayenne marched into Brie. The Duke of Parma , at the pressing solicitations of the

league, laid siege to Corbeil. He thought he could take it in five or six days, but it cost him a whole month, through the fault of the Duke of Mayenne, who, from laziness or jealousy, supplied him but very poorly with stores, and that by little and little; so that seeing his army considerably dwindling away, and, besides, giving themselves up to all manner of debauchery, in imitation of the French soldiers, he returned to Flanders very much dissatisfied with the conduct of the French, whom he had found, he said, fickle and inconstant, full of jealousies and divisions, insatiable and ungrateful. It was vexation that made him speak in that manner.

Before his departure, he had the mortification to hear of the loss of Corbeil, which had cost him so much. Givry, Governor of Brie in the King's name, retook it in one night by scalade; and, notwithstanding all the entreaties of the league, the Duke of Parma could never be prevailed on to stay in France till it was taken back again. He left them only eight thousand of his men, promising to return the ensuing spring, with a more numerous army, and advising them to amuse the King, in the mean while, with treaties of peace, till the

next campaign ; the Duke of Mayenne failed not to follow this advice , and , by that means , still retained many cities that were on the point of forsaking him.

This expedition of the Duke of Parma greatly retarded the King's affairs , without forwarding those of the Duke of Mayenne ; on the contrary it served only to entangle , and at last totally to ruin them ; for the Duke of Parma having remarked the Duke of Mayenne's defects , informed the Spanish Court that he was , by no means , calculated for promoting its interest , having neither power nor authority sufficient to cement so considerable a party as the league ; and being too jealous , too slow , and too lazy , to take care of every thing ; that , therefore , the King of Spain ought to take that task on himself , and render himself absolute master of the league ; in order to which it was necessary to gain over the Clergy and the inhabitants of the great towns , who , being ripe for a change in government , which during the late reigns , was rather tyrannical , would easily be brought to join the cities together , and form them into so many Cantons , or else create a King whose power should be so confined , as that he could

never oppress them either with taxes or with armies , as the two last Kings had done.

In fact the King of Spain , finding this to be the most convenient way to compass his ends , and thinking hereby to convert France into a republic , or else establish a King there who should entirely depend of him , no longer considered the Duke of Mayenne in the same light he had done , and gave him but very feeble assistance ; but he set about fomenting the different factions in the great towns , but especially that of the sixteen in Paris , sparing no expence for that purpose. It is thought it cost him such immense sums , on those occasions , that , had he laid them out on armies , he could have conquered a great part of France.

But our Henry , who was aware of his intentions , did all he could to counteract them. And first , he enticed the Duke of Mayenne by every kind of flattery and goodusage. This he did with two views ; the first was to try to gain him over , and the second , to render him suspicious to the Spaniards. With the same intent he endeavoured to improve the disgust he had already taken to that nation , promising him withal very advantageous terms , if he came to an

accommodation with him. By these means he somewhat abated his ardor, and hindered him from carrying things to extremity. And, as he knew it was the bad government of his predecessor, that alienated the affection of his people from him, he took the mildest and most endearing methods, to bring them back to a sense of their duty.

This good and wise King knew very well, that, to cure a disease, the cause ought first to be removed, and that, therefore he had nothing to do, but to correct and sweeten the bad humors which had reduced the body politic to the last extremity. He knew, because he had been a witness of it, that three things, in particular, had rendered his predecessor odious and contemptible to his people.

« The first was his indolence and effemi-
« nacy, which rendered useless the noble ta-
« lents God gave him for governing, and per-
« forming the duties of a King, and which
« made him neglect the care of his affairs, being
« almost entirely given up to his pleasures, as
« if Royalty, which is the noblest and most
« eminent of all occupations, was but a vain
« amusement, and that God had made Kings

« only for their own sakes , and not for his
 « glory and the common good of mankind.

« The second was the bad management ,
 « and dissipation of his finances , which ha
 « obliged him to have recourse to extraordi-
 « nary and oppressive means of exacting mo-
 « ney : for he squandered them away not only
 « by his extreme prodigality , and his enormous
 « presents to his favourites , which exceedingly
 « displeased his subjects ; but more so by his
 « negligence, because he never gave himself the
 « trouble to enquire into them , nor inspect
 « those whom he entrusted with the adminis-
 « tration thereof ; and who , forgetting they
 « were only the dispensators of the public mo-
 « ney , foolishly threw it away , or distributed
 « it to their creatures , as if it had been their
 « own private property.

« The third was the little dependance people
 « had on his word , together with his subtle ,
 « cunning and reserved manner of acting
 « towards his subjects ; for he had always the
 « misfortune of being perpetually distrusted ,
 « and all his words and actions were considered
 « as so many snares , insomuch that people
 « thought themselves bound in prudence to

« believe the very contrary of what he would
« have them believe ».

Now, Henry knew very well that such a conduct had been the ruin of his predecessor, and, therefore, resolved, as well from his natural propensity to do good, as from sound policy, to pursue a quite contrary road.

« With this view, he began by convincing
« the league, that disputed the crown with
« him, he was worthy of wearing it; and, for
« that purpose, he was continually employed,
« either in the field, or cabinet: military operations, deliberations on affairs of moment,
« negotiations, the order and administration
« of his finances, the dispensation of offices and
« employments; the knowledge of the principal laws, and of the order and police of his
« kingdom; these, and such others were his
« usual occupations, and ought to be those of
« every Prince who wishes to be a real, not a
« nominal, King. He liked to have faithful Ministers, but not associates; he entrusted them
« with the care of his affairs; but so as to be
« always absolute master himself, and they his
« servants only. He loved them, as he ought,
« with the greatest tenderness, and was very

« familiar with them , but he never would have
 « allowed them to go beyond the bounds of
 « submission and respect. If he asked their
 « advice , it was only as such he asked it , and
 « not by way of necessary instructions , for he
 « was oftener in the right himself than they.
 « He honoured them with his favors, but always
 « within bounds , and in proportion to their
 « deserts : he did not give all to one , two , or
 « three , but , as common father to all , he dis-
 « tributed his rewards to all such as he thought
 « worthy of them ; and it was his will that they
 « should receive them from his own hands ,
 « and not from those of others , well knowing
 « that to give and do good , is the most glorious
 « attribute of sovereignty , and ought not to be
 « imparted to another.

« In the second place , he had a particular
 « eye to the administration of his finances ,
 « which, for four reasons, he was obliged to take
 « care of; for , first, he was naturally , not of an
 « avaricious , but frugal disposition , and hated
 « all prodigality and extravagance. Secondly ,
 « he loved his people , and spared them as
 « much as possible ; for he scrupled to take
 « their money from them for any other purposes

« than such as were absolutely necessary. For
« which reason, he never had any of those
« court leeches about him, who suck all the
« blood of the people, without caring from
« whom it comes ; provided they themselves
« are gorged. Thirdly, the distress he had been
« always in, had taught him both the value and
« necessity of money, and made him sensible
« how useful it was to husband it well, by the
« difficulty he had experienced in getting it.
« Fourthly, as he had been early made acquaint-
« ed with affairs, which, unfortunately, the
« generality of Princes are not, he knew very
« well that the calamities which had afflicted
« France, originated, for the most part, from
« the bad administration of the public mo-
« ney ».

To regulate, therefore, his finances, and clear up that matter, was, for a long time, the chief object of his care and attention. Those who had that department, the better to prevent a discovery of their depredations, had rendered their administration so perplexed and intricate, so dark and confused, that it was almost impossible to see into, much less to unravel and settle it; so that the King's revenue

and the blood of the subject lay wholly at their disposal.

There was at that time at the head of the finances a Norman Gentleman named Francis d'O, who enjoyed that office since the reign of Henry the third, and who, to tell the truth, was profuse and extravagant to excess. His prodigality rendered him more ingenious and subtle in contriving new modes of draining the people of their substance, and of embroiling more and more the finances, for fear his rapacity should be brought to light. Now, tho' the King was well acquainted with his real character, yet, because he had formed a strong faction with the late Henry the third's minions and servants, who pretended great zeal for the Catholic cause, he was obliged to leave him in that office until his affairs took a more favourable turn. To repress, however, his insatiable rapacity, he, by degrees, took cognisance of the administration of his revenue, and came to establish such order therein, sometimes by one method, and sometimes by another, that, in process of time, he put it out of his power to embezzle any thing considerable, in comparison to what he used to take before.

It would be useless to inform the reader that this good King was distinguished for openness and candor in all his dealings. « It is for that
« reason , that , all his life time , his very ene-
« mies depended more on his bare word , than
« they did on the writings of all others. It is true
« he was prudent , but he never was known to
« make use of cunning , artifice or deceit. The
« prudent man never goes but in the strait road
« of honor and virtue ; the artful man , on the
« contrary , takes oblique and dirty paths : the
« former must be generous and good ; whereas
« the latter can be no other than a base and
« wicked cheat. Now , it is a notorious fact ,
« that the whole life of this great King was an
« amiable compound of generosity , good na-
« ture , sweetness and clemency. Ever ready
« to oblige , he received all persons of what-
« rank or denomination soever , with civility
« and kindness , and gave them good words at
« least , when he had nothing more to give.
« He acknowledged the slightest services , when
« in his power : he was courteous and affable
« to all the world , familiar with his officers and
« soldiers , and full of compassion for the poor
« country people , to whom he would condes-

« cend, when an opportunity offered, to clear
 « himself of the miseries they suffered, pro-
 « testing he was not the cause thereof; that he
 « ardently wished for peace, which Christ had
 « so strongly recommended to his followers;
 « that it was his enemies who forced him to
 « make war, which he detested as the source
 « of every crime and every calamity. There
 « appeared a certain gaiety in his countenance,
 « a sprightliness, and peculiar grace in what-
 « ever he said; in all his actions a resolution and
 « readiness, which animated the coldest breasts,
 « while they satisfied those that were hardest
 « to be pleased. Tho' he was still a Huguenot,
 « he never spoke, but with respect, of the Pope
 « and Clergy: he treated the Lords and Gentle-
 « men as his companions, and being unable to
 « reward them as he wished, he flattered them
 « with the honor of being the right arm of the
 « state, and of supporting the crown upon his
 « head. He was a total stranger to revenge; his
 « noble heart had no share of gall in it; he par-
 « doned injuries, and even quite forgot them,
 « when he was sure they were cancelled by
 « repentance, and when he saw in the aggressor
 « a disposition to do good, or at least to do no

« more harm. It was with these arms, more
« than with his sword, that he conquered his
« most inveterate enemies, softened the most
« obdurate hearts, and forced the most furious
« and obstinate leaguers to become his most
« faithful servants. He thought it incumbent on a
« great and good King, not to lose those whom it
« is in his power to gain, nor force them to go
« astray, when he can put them in the right
« road; acting in this, as in every other part of
« his conduct, diametrically opposite to his
« predecessor ».

After the Duke of Parma's departure, the two parties, viz. those of the King and of the league, remained, for some time in a state of great weakness, and were both torn alike by divisions and jealousies; with this difference, however, that the King, by his good conduct, stifled those of his party, whereas those of the league were daily increasing.

The Duke of Mayenne and the Duke of Nemours looked upon each other with a very jealous eye. The former was no less jealous of the Duke of Lorraine, but exceedingly so of the Spaniards, who gave him a great deal of trouble and anxiety, by means of the sixteen: for, as he

could not bear them for his associates, they could not suffer him for their master, and wished, above all things, that the league put another in his place.

There were likewise three or four factions in the King's party. The first, was that of the rigid and obstinate Huguenots, who could not bear to hear him talk of getting himself instructed, who threatened to abandon him, if he thought of it any farther, and who, with that view, kept an incessant eye upon him, to watch his steps, and find fault with his actions. The second, was that of the zealous Catholics, or of those who would be thought so: these did all they could to alienate him from the Huguenots, and murmured whenever he gave them any places or employments, or had any private conversation with them. The third, was that of Henry the third's courtiers and servants, who did not much like our Henry; because he would not comply with all their requests, and suffer himself to be blindly led by them. These last were, for the most part, Atheists and libertines, tho' they sided with the Catholics, and gave great uneasiness to the King.

Of these two last factions joined together, another was formed, called the third party. Charles Cardinal Bourbon, who was called Cardinal Vendome, while the old Cardinal Bourbon was living, was at the head of it. This vain and ambitious Prince, imagining he would come to the crown, if Henry the fourth his cousin could be excluded therefrom, excited the Catholics to insist on his conversion, in hopes the King would listen to no such proposal, neither his conscience nor his affairs being as yet disposed thereto, and that consequently, by secret machinations of his own, he could make him pass for an obstinate Heretic, oblige the Catholics to abandon him, and then bring them over to his own side. This faction was the most dangerous he ever had to deal with, tho' he pretended to look upon it with contempt, and called those who were of it the *Tiercelets*. It did not throw off the mask, nor separate itself entirely from him; but that was the very circumstance that made him dread it the more. It produced, however, one very good effect, which was, that it obliged him to get himself instructed in earnest, and abjure the Protestant Religion.

The Huguenots seeing that he listened to the Catholic Doctors, bethought themselves of besetting him in such a manner, as that he could not get away from them. With this view, they resolved powerfully to solicit Queen Elizabeth, and the Protestant Princes of Germany to send him a strong body of troops, by which they thought to make him victorious over the league, which would render it unnecessary for him to change his Religion. In fact, Queen Elizabeth, who was very zealous for the Protestant cause, interested herself so much in his favor, that not only she generously assisted him herself on all occasions, but warmly solicited the German Princes, in his behalf.

At the same time the Huguenots earnestly pressed him for an edict allowing them a free exercise of their Religion, and such were their importunities, that he was at length forced to acquiesce. It was sent to the Parliament then sitting at Tours, who could not be prevailed upon to register it but with these words, *by provision only*, thereby shewing themselves as great enemies to that new doctrine, as they were to the league, and its factions.

In the mean while Pope Sixtus V died;

leaving in the treasury of the Church five millions of livres, which he had amassed. He was very much disgusted with the league, and did all he could to prevail on Henry to return to the bosom of the Church, the gates of which the league endeavoured to shut against him, in order to exclude him from the throne. Sixtus V was succeeded by Urbain VII who filled the holy see but thirteen days, and was succeeded by Gregory XIV, who being naturally hot and violent, and a Spaniard in his heart, espoused, with great warmth, the cause of the league, as shall be seen hereafter.

I shall pass over in silence divers attempts made by both parties. The Parisians miscarried in one upon S. Denis. The Chevalier d'Aumale, one of their leaders, who was called the lion rampant of the league, was killed in the middle of the town, just in the moment that he was going to be master of it. The King, on his side, made an attempt upon Paris, which was called the meal-day; because he thought to surprise the city, under pretence of a convoy of meal that was to be brought thither; but his design being discovered, the Duke of Mayenne was forced by the clamors of the sixteen, to

receive four thousand men of Spanish garrison.

As both parties were alike in want of money, they could not keep a standing army, and, therefore, carried on the war only by intervals. When their troops had served for three months together, they were dismissed, and assembled again some time after, and according as they were stronger or weaker, they formed enterprises one against the other.

The King having mustered his, laid siege to Chartres where la Bourdaisiere commanded. Tho' the garrison was but small, yet the siege was long, obstinate and bloody, and furnished the third party with an opportunity of forming divers very dangerous plots, which the taking of that town quelled for some time. He restored the government of it to Chiverny, Chancellor of France, upon whom it had been conferred, before the league had made themselves masters of it.

After this the Duke of Mayenne, who saw himself in a very indifferent situation, renewed, agreeable to the Duke of Parma's advice, a conference about peace, which coming to nothing, the Lorrain Princes, and the chief heads of

the league, held a general meeting at Rheims. It was there resolved, that, being too weak with all their forces put together, to make head against the King, and, besides, wanting money, it was necessary to enter into a closer treaty with Spain than they had hitherto done. With this view they dispatched the President Jannin to Philip the second. This President was a man of a good head, and a true lover of his country. He had engaged, it is true, in the cause of the Duke of Mayenne, and the league; but he meant to save the nation, by preserving the Religion of the state, and therefore endeavoured to make the Spaniards the instruments of his design, without any intention of serving them, or promoting their interest. But if he had his aim, they had theirs; and there is no doubt, but they meant to indemnify themselves, at the expence of France, for the trouble and charges they were at for the league.

In this design they were seconded, and greatly assisted by the new Pope Gregory XIV, who was even more warm and active in the business than themselves; for, without paying any regard to the letters which Lord Luxembourg, afterwards Duke of Piney, writ to him

by orders of the Catholic Princes and Lords, who were in the King's party, nor to the humble and submissive remonstrances, of the Marquis of Pisany, their deputy at Rome; he warmly espoused the cause of the league; he kept up a literary correspondence with the sixteen; and what was more, he, with a lavish hand, scattered the treasure amassed by Sixtus V, to raise an army of twelve thousand men, which he sent to the assistance of the league, under the command of Count Hercules Sfondrate his nephew, whom he made Duke of Montemarcian on purpose to give him more consequence and authority by this new title. With this army he sent Marcellinus Landriane his Nuncio with a monitory or bull of excommunication against the Prelates, who took part with the King, and vast sums of money which he was to distribute among the sixteen of Paris, and the other heads of the factions in the great towns.

The Parliament of Tours, having received information of this monitory, had it torn by the hands of the common hangman, and ordered the Nuncio to be taken into custody. The Parliament of Paris, on the contrary, annulled this sentence, as being passed, they

said , by people , who were by no means , authorized so to do , and ordered obedience to be paid to the Pope and his Nuncio.

After all , those bulls did no very great harm , and Cardinal Bourbon gave himself useless trouble in endeavouring to stir up the Clergy , then assembled at Chartres , against the decree of the Parliament of Tours. The Pope's army was not much more successful than his bull , and was almost totally destroyed , without having been of the least utility.

It was far otherwise with the troops which Viscount Turenne had been ordered to raise in Germany. They were very useful to the King , and contributed greatly to advance his affairs. As a recompence thereof , his Majesty honoured this Lord with the staff of Marshal of France , the better to qualify him for marrying Charlotte Mark , Dutchess of Bouillon , sovereign Lady of Sedan , who , tho' a Huguenot , was powerfully solicited by the Duke of Lorraine , to marry his eldest son the Marquis of Pont. The King made this marriage with a view to set up a man against this Duke , who was a great supporter of the league ; in which the new Marshal served him to his satisfaction , having,

amongst other fine exploits, surprized Stenay the very night before his marriage.

The King had another great General in Lesdiguières, who, by the reduction of Grenoble, kept Dauphiné in subjection, and saved Provence from the invasions of the Duke of Savoy, who thought to seize upon it, and dismember it from the crown. The great power of his father in law, Philip the second, King of Spain, fired, the ambition and courage of this Duke, and made him forget the affection and attachment his predecessors had almost always had for France, insomuch that they thought themselves honoured by being the pensioners of our Kings. But Lesdiguières, by his conduct and valor, defeated his ambitious projects, especially at the battles of Esparon-de-Palieres, and Pont-Charta, where the Duke was totally overthrown, to his great loss and confusion.

About this time our Henry conceived a violent passion for Gabrielle d'Estrées, a young Lady of accomplished beauty, and noble birth, who got such an ascendant over his affection, that, whilst she lived, she always held the first place in his heart; insomuch that having had three or four children by her, he was almost

resolved to marry her, tho' he could not do it without the utmost difficulty and hazard. Having taken the town of Noyon, he not only made Count d'Estrées, his mistress's father, Governor thereof, but gave him, shortly after, the place of Grand-Master of the artillery, which had been already held by John d'Estrées, in the year 1550.

After the siege of Noyon, whilst the King was indulging himself in the sweets of repose, he was informed that the Duke of Guise, after many other attempts, had made his escape, in broad day, from the castle of Tours, where he was detained prisoner since the death of his father. This news he, at first, received with equal surprize and concern. He dreaded the mighty name of Guise, that had cost him so much trouble. He apprehended lest this young Prince should succeed his father in the affection of the people, of whom he had been so long the idol; nor could he bear, without regret, the loss of a pledge, which could, in so many ways, be serviceable to him. However, after having considered a while, his fears subsided, and he told those who were about him, that he had greater reason to rejoice than be

concerned at it, because, either the Duke of Guise would take part with him, in which case he would treat him as his relation; or he would espouse the cause of the league, and then it would be impossible the Duke of Mayenne and he could be long upon good terms, and of course they would become enemies.

It happened just as he had foretold. The Duke of Mayenne, seeing the rejoicings and bonfires made by the league and great towns on hearing of the Duke of Guise's escape; the public thanksgiving the Pope offered up to God for that happy event; the hopes which the sixteen conceived of finding in this young Prince the great qualities of his father whom they had idolized; the Duke of Mayenne, I say, was seized with violent jealousy, and tho' he sent him some money, and invited him to an interview, yet, far from viewing him in the light of a friend who could be of use to him, he only considered him as a new source of trouble and uneasiness.

In fact this young Prince immediately offered his services to the league, and promised them his protection. Emboldened by this, and the support of Spain, they resolved to ruin the Duke

of Mayenne , and were eternally censuring his conduct to the people. Some even affirm , they went so far , as to write a letter to the King of Spain , in which they threw themselves on his protection , and conjured him , if he did not chuse to reign over them himself , to give them a King of his blood , or to make choice of a son in law for his daughter , and they would readily acknowledge and most faithfully obey him. Not content with that , they drew up a formulary of an oath for the league , which excluded the Princes of the blood , in order to oblige all those who would refuse to take it , to quit the city , and leave their property. By this artifice , they expelled numbers , and amongst the rest , Cardinal Gondy , Bishop of Paris , whom they had conceived an aversion for , because , with some vicars of the city , he endeavoured to dispose the people in favor of the King.

They had but one step further to go , and that was to rid themselves of the Parliament , that continually watched all their motions , and checked their illegal proceedings. They had prosecuted and condemned a certain Brigard , for having carried on a correspondence with the Royalists ; but the Parliament acquitted

him, which so exasperated them, that the most violent amongst them, by their own private authority, went, with an armed body of their party, and seized Brisson the President, with two Counsellors, Tardif, and de Larcher, and carried them prisoners to the Chatelet, where, after some formalities, one of them passed sentence of death upon them, in consequence of which, they were all three immediately hanged out of the chamber window. The next day they had their bodies brought to la Greve, in order to ingratiate themselves with the people, and make them rise up in their favor. But the greater part of the standers-by were so shocked at so horrid a deed, that the most zealous even of that party remained silent, not knowing whether they ought to censure or approve it.

Some of those sixteen were even so bold and daring as to propose to carry matters still farther, and complete the tragedy, by making away with the Duke of Mayenne, who was then at Laon, should he come near Paris; that afterwards they should make themselves masters of the city, elect a chief who should entirely depend of them, reestablish the council of forty abolished by the Duke of Mayenne,

and form an union of the principal towns and cities. Indeed it is very probable, that, being in possession of the Bastille, of which Bussy was Governor, and having the common people, and the Spanish garrison on their side, they could easily have made themselves masters of Paris, and then be at full liberty to treat, either with the King, the Duke of Guise, or the Spaniards, but fortunately they wanted resolution. In the mean while the Duke of Mayenne, after hesitating two days whether or not he should come to Paris, for fear of having the gates shut against him, arrived there with some troops, and seeing the Parliament did not dare to prosecute the guilty, he resolved to punish them himself, let the consequence be what it would. He, therefore, without more ado, sentenced nine of them to death. Four only were caught, and hanged in the Louvre; the other five made their escape into Flanders. The most notorious of these five was Bussy-le-Clerc, who was forced to surrender the Bastille to the Duke. He was afterwards seen in Brussels in the utmost misery and distress, but to the very last moment of his life he retained his hatred to the French.

This terrible blow having entirely quashed

the faction of the sixteen, the Duke of Mayenne made four Presidents of Parliament, for Brisson was the only one that was left, the rest being all gone to Tours. But he shewed, on this occasion, how little he understood his own interest; for in my opinion it is impossible the Parliament and Nobility can remain long separated from the King, and no party formed against him can subsist for any considerable time, if the power be not vested either in the people or in the army.

No sooner did the King receive the supply he ¹⁵⁹² expected from England, and from the Protestants of Germany, than he besieged Rouen. It was one of the most memorable sieges of that period. Villars, a Gentleman of Provence, who was Governor thereof, made a most gallant defence, and performed wonders on that occasion. The Duke of Parma was coming to his assistance, in conjunction with the Duke of Mayenne, but Villars, fearing they would not arrive in time and likewise that the Duke of Mayenne would dispossess him of his Government, in case he entered victorious into the city, resolved to depend on himself for succour, and in a sally, which might well be

called a battle, he repulsed the besiegers, and drove them to a considerable distance from his walls. The Dukes, seeing he was no longer in danger, withdrew, and the Duke of Parma pitched his camp in the environs of Rue in Ponthieu: but Villars being, two months after, in want of provisions, and the courage of his men declining very fast, was forced to write to them to come in all haste to his assistance. On receipt of this letter, the Dukes assembled their forces in one day, and leaving their baggage behind, they repassed the river Somme, and marched above thirty leagues in four days, tho' they had four rivers to cross.

Being come within a league of Rouen, they drew up their army in order of battle in a valley near Dernetal. The King who was gone to Dieppe, finding at his return that his men were in too weak and dejected a condition to resist the enemy from within and without, raised the siege to his great mortification, and waited twelve hours, in order of battle, for them, at about a league from thence and then retreated to Pont-de-l'Arche. It is thought that, had he been pursued, he could scarce have avoided coming to an engagement, and losing the day:

but the Duke of Mayenne, influenced by jealousy, or otherwise, strongly insisted with the Duke of Parma on the necessity of taking Caudebec in order to clear the Seine and supply Rouen with provisions. The Duke of Parma was forced to give way. They took Caudebec in four and twenty hours, but the Duke of Parma was wounded in the arm by a musket-shot, and, a few days after, the Duke of Mayenne fell sick, so that both the Generals were confined to their bed at the same time.

In the mean while the King received a reinforcement of three thousand horse, and six thousand foot, that flocked from the Neighbouring provinces, which gave him a superiority of near five thousand men over the enemy. The tables were then reversed. He went in search of them, surrounded them near Yvetot, and cut off their provisions, which obliged them to decamp by night, and go and post themselves near Caudebec. The two Generals being still laid up, and their troops in the utmost consternation, Marshal Biron, after having carried one of their posts, defeated their light horse. The King's infantry was preparing at the same time to fall upon the enemy's Wal-

loon infantry, which, in the fright it was in; would, no doubt, have asked quarter; but Biron called them back, for fear, said he, they should go too far, and be surrounded by the enemy. It is thought he gave those orders with no other view than to prolong the war, in which he had the principal command. The following is a strong proof of it. Baron Biron his son, who was afterwards Marshal of France, having asked him, another time, for five hundred horse, with each an Arquebusier behind him, in order to surround the Duke of Mayenne, who was in a fair way of being taken; the father, who saw very well he could not possibly fail in the attempt, looked sternly at him, and blasting out an oath; *how, rascal*, said he, *hast thou a mind to send us to plant cabbages to Biron?* « This will explain the reason why wars in general last so very long; it is because the Commanders in chief find their account in prolonging them, just as Lawyers find theirs in prolonging law-suits ».

Some days after the Duke of Parma being somewhat recovered, ran over within himself all the devices and stratagems, which he had learnt from long experience and deep medita-

tion, in order to extricate himself out of the embarrassing situation he was in. The only good or practicable plan he could think of was to cross the river, and retreat in all haste towards Paris. With this view he got two forts built, one opposite the other, on the banks of the Seine, with redoubts, which commanded the river and outworks that extended to a considerable length on the King's side. By means of these forts, and the favor of a very dark night, he passed with his cavalry, infantry, artillery and baggage on pontons, and boats covered with planks, unperceived by the King, till it was too late to hinder him. When he had crossed the river, he directed his march through the plains of Neufbourg, and made such haste, that, in four days, he reached the bridge of Charenton, without having enjoyed a moment's sound sleep, as he himself confessed afterwards, till he got into Brie.

After this he returned, with his army, to the low countries, loaded with glory, for having, a second time, contrary to all appearance, forced a great King to raise the siege, and, in spite of all his care and vigilance, passed a great river, or rather an arm of the sea, before his face, unmolested, unopposed.

« This was so glorious an action , that the
« King could not help admiring it, and looking
« upon it as more to the Duke of Parma's honor,
« than if he had gained two battles ; because ,
« said he , the great merit of a general does not
« so much consist in fighting and conquering ,
« as in executing his designs without the hazard
« of a battle ».

There is one circumstance we must not forget to mention , which is this : the first time the Duke of Parma was coming to the relief of Rouen , the King , with a part of his army , went to meet him as far as Aumale , as well to hinder him from passing the small stream that is there , as to reconnoître him ; and , with four or five hundred Carabineers only , stopped , for a considerable time , the enemy's whole army , by two or three very brisk and vigorous attacks he made upon it. The Duke of Parma did not imagine the King was there , or that he would expose his person to such imminent danger , with a handful of men : but when he knew for certain he was there , he ordered all his carabineers , supported by his light cavalry , to charge. The King , seeing his men overpowered by numbers , and unable any longer to resist ,

made two vigorous attacks, during which he took care to have the greatest part of his baggage removed from the town: but the Duke's cavalry coming up at that instant, the King lost a great many of his men, and ran a great risk himself of being either killed or taken prisoner. God permitted that he should only be wounded in the loins by a pistol shot, which would have proved mortal, had the ball had a little more force; but it only pierced his cloaths and shirt, and slightly touched his skin. He was indebted to his valor and good fortune for having extricated him out of that critical situation, and afterwards placed both him and the remainder of his troops, out of the reach of danger.

The Duke of Parma greatly admired that action; but praised Henry's courage more than his prudence on that occasion; for the King having sent to ask him what he thought of that retreat, he answered. *That indeed it was very fine; but that for his part, he never put himself in the way of being forced to retreat.* This was tacitly telling him how cautious a Prince or General ought to be of exposing his person; and indeed all his best friends and servants came that very evening to beseech him not

to venture himself thus any more, since on his life depended the preservation and happiness of his kingdom; and the Queen of England, his most faithful friend, writ to him, entreating him to be more careful of his person, and, at least, not to go beyond the bounds of a great General, who ought never to expose his life but on the greatest emergency.

When the King had raised the siege of Rouen, he marched, with the greatest part of his army, into Champaign, in pursuit of the Duke of Parma, and laid siege to the town of Epernay, which he took. Marshal Biron was killed there by a Falconet-shot, which carried off his head, as he was taking a view of the town. His eldest son, called Baron Biron, as great a General as his father, and very much beloved by the King, was shortly after honoured with the staff of Marshal of France, but lost his head with less honor and glory than his father, as we shall see hereafter.

1593 The Duke of Mayenne and the Duke of Parma having parted very ill satisfied one with the other, it was no hard matter to renew the conferences betwixt the former and the Royalists. However, matters were not as yet ripe:

only some seeds were sown which bore fruit shortly after, for the King consented to have himself instructed within six months in a way that could hurt neither his dignity nor his conscience. He likewise permitted the Catholic Lords of his party to send deputies to the Pope, to acquaint him with his intention, and beg the sanction of his authority, while he was carrying on the treaty of peace.

The Duke of Mayenne and his party demanded such exorbitant terms, as greatly embarrassed Henry; but what gave him the greatest trouble was, that the Duke pressed by the earnest solicitations of the Pope, and of the King of Spain, the remonstrances of the great towns in his interest, and even by the necessity of his own affairs, had called together the states general at Paris, with a view to proceed to the nomination of a new King.

Now this nomination would undoubtedly have proved the ruin of France, and perhaps the entire expulsion of Henry; for it is more than probable that all the Catholic Princes would have acknowledged the King elected by the states: that the Clergy would have followed their example; and that the Nobility and peo-

ple, who followed Henry only because he had the title of King, would not scruple to desert him for another whom the states would have raised to the throne.

To prevent, therefore, so fatal a blow, the King very wisely bethought himself of getting a conference proposed between some Lords of his party, and those pretended states. The Duke of Mayenne was not at all sorry for this expedient, because he saw very well the King of Spain wished for nothing more than to marry his daughter Isabella-Clara-Eugenia, to whoever would be nominated King by the states; that therefore this election could not concern him, since he already had a wife and Children. But to prevent people from acknowledging Henry, he excited, underhand, some Divines to say that this conference with a Heretic was illicit; in consequence of which, he prevailed on the states to come to a resolution that they would not treat, directly, nor indirectly, with Henry, either concerning his establishment, or any Religious matters; but that, for the good of Religion, and the public tranquillity, they were willing to confer with the Catholics of his party.

The Pope's Legate, who foresaw the result of this deliberation of the states, did all he could to prevent it; but was, at last, forced to accede to it. A conference was, therefore, agreed upon; and the deputies, on both sides, met at Surene, a village near Paris.

The states were assembled since the month of January 1593, and were held in the high hall in the Louvre. The assembly was composed of a few Nobles, a great number of Prelates, and a good many deputies of the third state, who were, for the most part, creatures of the Duke of Mayenne, or paid by the King of Spain. This Prince, who wished above all things, to get the crown of France for his daughter, was determined to send a powerful army into France, to hasten the final resolution of the states: but fortunately for Henry, the great Duke of Parma was dead, and Spain had no Generals of any note in the low countries. Count Mansfeld had orders to march with his troops, and was joined by the Duke of Mayenne. They retook Noyon, but that was all, and then dispersed, after being so much weakened, that they were afraid of venturing any farther, so that they were forced to return to Flanders, where Prince

Maurice of Nassau gave them employment enough.

During the siege of Noyon, young Biron, to whom the King had given the office of Admiral, resigned by the Duke of Epernon, in exchange for the Government of Provence, had laid siege to Selles in Berry, which was a great annoyance to the city of Tours. The King, seeing he lost too much time before that paltry little town, had recalled him to go to the relief of Noyon, which, however, he was afraid to undertake. These unlucky accidents contributed not a little to raise the spirits of his enemies, abate the ardor of his partizans, and give new courage to the turbulent and factious. The third party which hitherto had lain concealed, began now to stir, and a report even was current, that some Catholics, under pretence of taking the King out of the hands of the Huguenots, had conspired to seize his person at Mantes, and carry him forcibly to mass whether he would or no. Henry was so terrified at this, at least seemingly so, that he left the town, assembled his friends in the fields, and sent for the English troops quartered in the suburb of Limay.

In the mean while the Duke of Feria , Ambassador from the King of Spain to the states general , arrived at Paris , and delivered them a very civil letter from his master which he accompanied with a fine speech , wherein he exhorted them speedily to name a King , offering them all possible assistance both of men and money ; so much did the King of Spain long , as has been already observed , to procure the crown of France for his daughter Isabella , whom he tenderly loved.

It was , therefore , necessary that Henry should declare openly either that he intended to persevere in his Religion , in which case a war was unavoidable , of which he , perhaps would never see the end , or else that he should return to the bosom of the Catholic Church.

The leaguers in the Spanish interest were in great dread of this change which would have left them no pretext ; the good Catholics wished for it exceedingly : all they were afraid of was , that his conversion would not be sincere. The rigid Huguenots did all they could to dissuade him from it , and even went so far as to threaten him with the judgments of God , if he deserted , as they said , the cause of truth and of the gospel :

but all the politicians of both Religions advised him to differ it no longer. They told him that, of all cannons, that of mass was the best for reducing the cities of his kingdom; they entreated him to make use of it; threatening him at the same time, if he did not, to withdraw from him, and go home, as they were tired of ruining themselves in his service, for the caprice and obstinacy of a few predicant Ministers, who hindered him from embracing the Religion of his Predecessors.

Besides these worldly considerations, God, who is never wanting to those who seek him with humility, pleased to enlighten his understanding, and render him fit for receiving the salutary instructions of the Catholic Prelates. Having taken this resolution, he immediately gave notice thereof to the deputies of the league at the conference of Surene. Nothing could equal their astonishment, but the surprize of the Duke of Mayenne, on hearing so unexpected a piece of news.

The Spaniards and Legate having received information of his intended conversion, were continually pressing the states to elect a King; but seeing the French would have none, tha

was not of their own nation, they proposed that their King should name a French Prince, who should reign jointly with the Infanta Isabella.

When the Parliament had heard that the states were not averse to this proposal, that great body, tho' captive and mutilated, yet still mindful of its ancient vigor, ordered an address to be presented to the Duke of Mayenne, desiring him to maintain the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and to prevent the crown, which had been committed to his care, from being transferred to foreigners. Moreover, it annulled all treaties made or to be made, which would interfere with the law of the land.

It was thought this edict was all mere collusion between the Parliament and the Duke of Mayenne: but Villars, the greatest statesman of that reign, acquits the Parliament of any sinister views, and says they acted of their own accord, and *solely from considerations of honor and duty, like men, who would rather die than forfeit either the one or the other, by conniving at the subversion of the laws of the kingdom, of which, by their institution, they are the protectors, and which they are bound to*

maintain by the oath they took at their reception. These words are very remarkable.

This vigorous edict raised the drooping spirits of all the true Patriots that were in Paris and in the states; and the taking of Dreux, at that time, by the King's army humbled, in a great measure, the pride of the most sanguin leaguers. This, however, did not make the Spaniards desist from their pursuit. The Duke of Mayenne, to stop them short, made the most exorbitant demands of them before he proceeded to the election of a King; but, rather than not compass their ends, they granted him all he asked; and at last told him openly their master wished the states would elect the Duke of Guise, to whom he would give his daughter in marriage, and all the forces necessary to secure the crown to him, if they thought proper to give him their votes.

Never was man more surprized than the Duke of Mayenne, when he saw he should be forced to obey his nephew, and that his authority was going to have an end. His wife, still more impatient than he, could not help shewing her spite and jealousy; for rather than see this young Prince upon the throne, she advised her

husband to make peace with the King, cost what it would. In fact, he was determined to do any thing, rather than raise his nephew over him; and did really everything in his power to prevent his being elected. It was with this view that he concluded a truce with the King, notwithstanding the opposition he met with from the Legate and the Spaniards.

After this truce was concluded, the King came to Saint-Denis, with many Prelates and Doctors by whose care he had been instructed in the principles of the Catholic faith. An historian relates that, the King assisting at a conference between Doctors of both Churches, and seeing a minister allow the possibility of salvation in the Catholic Religion, his Majesty asked the minister: *What! do you allow that it is possible to save one's self in the Religion of these Gentlemen?* The minister replying, that he had not the least doubt of it, provided one led a godly life; *then*, said the King very judiciously, *prudence tells me to be of their Religion, and not of yours, because, by being of theirs, I save myself according to them and according to you; whereas by being of yours, I save myself, it is true, according to you, but not*

according to them. Now, prudence directs to take the surest side. Thus, after many and long instructions, after having all his doubts cleared, he abjured the errors of his Religion, made profession of the Catholic faith and received absolution, in the Church of Saint-Denis, in the month of July, from the hands of Renaud de Beaune, Archbishop of Bourges.

That very day the whole country from Paris to Pontoise was illuminated with bonfires; and multitudes of Parisians who had flocked to Saint-Denis, to see that ceremony, gave, on their return, so pleasing and favourable an account of the King, that it gained him the esteem and affection of all Paris, insomuch that he was no longer called the Bearnois there, but the King.

The states of Paris were dissolved shortly after this. The Duke of Mayenne dismissed the deputies, who returned to their respective Provinces, very ill satisfied, for the most part, and contributed, not a little, to bring them under the subjection of their lawful sovereign.

The league had now no pretext left but one, which was, that the King had not the Pope's absolution, and was not as yet within the pale

of the Church ; that therefore , they could not acknowledge him till he got in there by the great gate. He had sent the Duke of Nevers to Rome , to negotiate that affair with the Pope , who was very much displeased with the French Prelates , for having attempted to give him the absolution , tho' they had done it by provision only , *ad cautelam* ; for he said that he alone had the right to reinstate relapses , he alone having the sovereign power of tying and untying. Hence it was , that he made such difficulties , nor could he be appeased , till he saw the party of the league almost expiring.

Now , the King having shewn by his life and 1594
actions that his conversion was unfeigned , the league had no longer any reasonable pretext , and dwindled away so fast , that in less than a year , it was , as I may say , in the last stage of a consumption , having but very few towns left in its possession , the Governors of the rest being unwilling to follow the Duke of Mayenne's fortune to the very last. This Prince was very irresolute , and did not well know what measures to pursue , owing partly to his natural slowness , and partly to the grief he was in at renouncing the sovereign power with which he

was invested, and because too he thought he had every thing to fear from the King.

In the mean while Vitry, wishing to be the first to return to his duty, as he had been the first to swerve from it, gave up the town of Meaux to the King, as did the Count of Carces that of Aix in Provence. Lyons submitted of itself, owing partly to the Duke of Mayenne, who had a mind to make himself master of that city, and forcibly take it away from the Duke of Nemours, his uterine brother, who intended to form a little sovereignty for himself in that country. The better to compass his end, the Duke of Mayenne had, by secret intrigues, stirred up the citizens against his brother, whom they sent prisoner to the castle of Pierre-Encise, but it happened that in this he was serving the King more effectually than himself; for the citizens, who had arrested the Duke of Nemours, fearing the two brothers would agree amongst themselves to sacrifice them to their own private interest, treated underhand with Colonel Alfonsus Ornane, the King's Lieutenant general in Dauphiny, and having barricaded themselves, they put on the white scarf, crying out, *God save the King*. La Châtre in

like manner submitted with the towns of Orléans and Bourges. The reduction of Paris happened the twenty second of march : the Parliament , the Lord Mayor , and Aldermen disposed this great city for the reception of the King, who made his entrance into it, in spite of the vain efforts of the remaining few of the sixteen's faction. The Duke of Mayenne was gone to Picardy ; and Brissac whom , some months before , he had made Governor of Paris , gave it up to the King , from a persuasion that he had a greater right to his faith and allegiance than the Duke of Mayenne.

The King a little before that , had himself consecrated at Chartres with the holy Vial of Saint-Martin of Tours. The town of Rheims was still in the hands of the league , and he did not chuse to put off his coronation , because he looked upon that ceremony as absolutely necessary to gain the respect as well as the affection of the people.

Indeed if we consider that at the time of the reduction of Paris there was a garrison in it of four or five thousand Spaniards , and ten or twelve thousand of the remaining faction of the sixteen , who all bore a mortal hatred to the

King, it is next to a miracle, how he could make himself master of it, without striking a blow or spilling a drop of blood, except five or six he put to death, for attempting to raise a mutiny, by running out into the streets and crying *to arms*. His troops having taken possession of the gates, ramparts and squares, by means of some intelligence he had in the city, he triumphantly entered into Paris, through the new gate, by which Henry the third unfortunately fled six years before, and went straight to Notre-Dame to hear Mass, and get the *Te Deum* sung: from thence he came back to the Louvre, where he found his Officers, and his dinner prepared, as if he had been living there all his life time.

In the afternoon he gave the Spanish garrison a safe-conduct, and a strong guard to escort them, as far as Guise's tree; for those who let him into the city had so desired it. The garrison departed about three o'clock on the same day they came in, and with them went twenty or thirty of the most obstinate leaguers, who chose rather to follow those foreigners than obey their natural Prince. Henry was desirous of seeing them going out, which he did from a window above the gate of Saint-Denis. They

all made a very low bow to him, with their hats off, and he, with great courtesy, returned the salute to the head Officers, adding these words: *remember me kindly to your master; you may go away; but take care not to come back again.*

The very day he made his entrance into Paris, Cardinal Pellevé, Archbishop of Sens, a most violent leaguer, departed this life, in his palace of Sens. Cardinal Plaisance, the Pope's Legate, obtained a passport to withdraw, but he died on the road. Brissac was rewarded with the staff of Marshal of France, and a place of honorary Counsellor in Parliament, a very unusual favor at that time, and which should always be so. D'O was again made Governor of Paris, having already had that place under Henry the third; but he did not enjoy his government long, his death happening shortly after. The part of the Parliament that was at Tours, was recalled, that which was at Paris, was reinstated, for it had been under an interdiction, and both were united for the service of his Majesty.

The very day that Henry was received at Paris, the city was, at twelve o' clock, entirely

quiet, the citizens, in a moment, grew familiar with the soldiers, the artizans were seen working in their shops; in a word, the calm was so profound, that it was interrupted only by the chime of bells, the bonfires and dances, which were made in every street, and lasted till midnight. It is certain those rejoicings and that astonishing tranquillity was owing to the great opinion the people had conceived of the generosity and goodness of this Prince, and to the strict orders he had given to keep his soldiers within proper bounds.

He signalized himself on his entrance into Paris by two actions, which shew his admirable goodness, justice and policy.

The first is, he suffered the baggage of la Noue, one of his head Officers, to be seized upon by serjeants, as it was going into Paris, for debts which his father had contracted for his Majesty's service; and when la Noue went to complain to him of that insolence, Henry answered him publickly: *La Noue, you must pay your debts, I pay mine.* But he afterwards took him aside, and gave him some of his jewels to give his creditors in pawn, instead of the baggage they had seized.

The second is, he played at cards, that very evening, with the Dutchess of Montpensier, who was of the house of Guise, and one of the most violent leaguers of the whole party.

Since the reduction of Paris, the other cities and towns with their governors made haste to conclude their treaties with the King. Villars made his for Rouen and obtained in return the Government in chief of that town and bailiwick, and that of the country of Caux, with the office of Admiral, which Biron gave up for that of Marshal of France, twelve hundred thousand livres in money, and a pension of sixty thousand livres a year. About the same time, Montreuil and Abbeville in Picardy, Troyes in Champaign, Sens, Riom in Auvergne, Agen, Marmande and Villeneuve of Agenois submitted to the King, who easily granted their Governors whatever they demanded of him. The town of Poitiers, and the country round it treated also by its chief Magistrates, and the Marquis of Elbeuf, who was Governor of it for the league, seeing he could not stem the torrent of that revolution, suffered himself to be carried away by it, and compounded with the King, who continued him in the Government of the province.

In the mean while, Count Mansfeld entered Picardy, to try to support the sinking remnants of the league, and took la Chapelle. The King, by way of retaliation, laid siege to Laon, which he took by capitulation, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Duke of Mayenne to succour it.

Balagny, with his town of Cambray, deserted the league also, and promised allegiance to the King. He pretended to be sovereign as well as proprietor of that town, since the Duke of Alençon, brother to Henry III, had unjustly taken it away from Baron d'Inchi, who, in the great revolution of the low countries, had thrown off the Spanish yoke, to take part with him. In like manner did the towns of Beauvais and Peronne forsake the league, as did that of Amiens, after shaking off the yoke of the Duke of Aumale, so that in all Picardy the only towns that remained to this party were Soissons, la Fere, and Ham. The Duke of Guise too quitted the Duke of Mayenne, and with the towns of Rheims, Vitry, and Mezieres submitted to the King, who rewarded him with the Government of Provence, from which he was obliged to remove the Duke of Epemon, who had in-

curred the hatred of the people, Parliament, and Nobility.

The Duke of Lorrain, who likewise negotiated his peace through the mediation of Bassompierre, concluded it the twenty sixth of November. But neither the example of this Duke, who was head of the house of Lorrain, nor the general revolution that took place in that party, could prevail on the Duke of Mayenne to avoid the precipice that stood ready to swallow him. He could not think of parting with the fine title of Lieutenant general of the crown, and he always fed himself with the hopes that Spain would mend his affairs, and set him up again. He was gone to his Government of Burgundy which was almost all he had left, tho', to secure Dijon to himself, he was obliged, by a very odious act of cruelty, to have the Mayor and another beheaded for endeavouring to bring it under the King's subjection.

Now, as it was the Spaniards, who supported him in his obstinacy, and made war against the King in his name, it was moved and resolved upon in council, to declare war against them, and attack them in their own territories, 1595

in order that, finding enough to do at home, they might have little leisure to come and molest the King in his own dominions; for they not only attacked him openly by the force of arms, and by secret practices, that maintained his subjects in rebellion against him; but moreover they aimed at his life, and attempted to destroy him by the basest and most execrable means. It was very well proved they formed or countenanced several conspiracies against his sacred person. The two that made the greatest noise were those of Pierre Barriere, and Jean Châtel.

The former was a soldier seven and twenty years old, who was discovered at Melun, in the year 1593, as he was looking for an opportunity of putting his detestable design into execution. He was condemned to have his right hand burnt, holding the knife, with which he intended to stab the King, afterwards to have his flesh torn off with red-hot pincers, and then be broken alive.

The second was a school-boy of eighteen, son to a woollen-draper, that lived opposite the Palais. This wretch having about the end of the year 1594, secretly introduced himself with the courtiers into the chamber of Gabrielle

d'Estrées, where the King was, intended to give him a stab of a knife in the belly; but the King luckily stooping at that very moment to salute some person, he touched him only in the face, pierced his upper lip, and broke one of his teeth.

It was not known at first who struck him; but the Count of Soissons seeing the young man look quite wild, seized him by the arm. He, with all the assurance in the world, avowed the fact, and maintained he had done but his duty. The Parliament passed the same sentence on him, it had done on Pierre Barriere, with this difference, that instead of being broken alive, he was drawn asunder by four horses.

This detestable regicide did not discover the least symptom of sorrow for what he had done, so strongly had his mind been impressed with the idea, that it would be offering an agreeable sacrifice to God, to rid the world of an apostate and excommunicated Prince. The father of this wretch was banished, his house, opposite the Palais, demolished, and a pyramid erected in the place where it stood.

The Jesuits under whom that wicked wretch had studied, were immediately charged with

having inculcated on his tender mind that pernicious doctrine; and as they had many enemies, the Parliament banished the whole society out of the kingdom, by the same Arrêt which had condemned their pupil: but those fathers, notwithstanding circumstances were very unfavourable, failed not to clear their honor as well as they could, and writ several pamphlets to exculpate themselves from the imputations laid to their charge: and indeed those who were not their enemies, did not think them guilty: so that, a few years after, the King repealed the act which had banished them, and gave them leave to return, as we shall see hereafter.

The new war against Spain was carried on with a success superior to that which the King had against the league, and was a strong proof » how great a difference there is between « attacking a stranger equal in power, from « whom there is nothing to gain but by force « of arms, and having to do with rebellious « subjects, in one's own country, where intrigues and secret intelligence do more than « half the business ».

That year the towns of Beaune, Autun, and Aussone submitted to the King. That of

Mâcon and Auxerre did the like the year before. Dijon followed their example, and barricaded itself against the castle, which Biron went to besiege. In the mean while the Constable of Castille came down with a powerful army from the Milanese into Burgundy through Franche-Comté, and passed the river Saone at Gray, with the Duke of Mayenne.

The King had the courage to go as far as Fontaine-Françoise to meet him, and there with fifteen hundred men only he faced that mighty army, and performed an exploit that exceeds all belief. Villars-Oudan, and Sanson, two of the chief commanders of the Spanish army, fell with great impetuosity upon his troops: Villars attacked a body commanded by Marshal Biron, and Sanson another just by it. They broke through them both, and drove them on before them to where the King was posted with his bataillon. It is said that Villars, knowing he was there, was afraid of attacking him, and retreated on his left, so great was the terror which the King's very name carried with it. Sanson was not so fortunate; for the King, tho' with a hundred horse only, the pick and choice, it is true, of his whole army, and very

advantageously mounted, charged him, sword in hand, with such irresistible fury, that he cut his troops in pieces. Sanson himself in attempting to rally his men bravely lost his life to his immortal honor.

The King was in such imminent danger in this engagement, that he said, he had fought, upon all other occasions, for victory, but that, on this one, he had fought for his life.

Having given the Constable, a specimen of what he could do, he so damped his courage, that he was afraid of making any further attempt, and shortly after withdrew with his army. The Duke of Mayenne too, rendered desperate by such a series of ill fortune, and not knowing what to do with himself, had determined to retire to Sommerive in Savoy, from whence he intended to go to Spain to give Philip the second an account of his actions, provided he got security before hand that his person should be safe. But the King's goodness saved him from this precipice, and put him once more in a way of making his peace. With this view, he sent for Lignerac, his confident, told him he always wished the Duke well, that he had pity on him, that he might be assured

he was always disposed to receive him into his good graces , and that he might safely retire to Chalons upon the Saone till the terms of his accommodation should be finally settled.

The Duke accepted the favor , and being informed that the Pope was disposed to receive the King into the bosom of the Church , he demanded a general truce for the rest of his party.

The greater part of the King's council , considering the delays and artifices he had made use of for six years past during which he began fifty treaties without ever concluding one of them , advised the King to grant him no longer time , but bring things to an issue all at once. This was not Henry's opinion ; neither his goodness nor his prudence approved of it ; for he was convinced of the truth of two maxims ; *one , that Kings can always , if they chuse , reclaim the most rebellious , and make them return to their duty , the other , that it is dangerous to drive brave men to despair , especially men of such high rank as the Duke of Mayenne.* That was the reason why , of his own accord , and contrary to the advice of his council , he granted him a truce. The event

shortly after proved that he had more judgment and penetration than his ministers, and that, by pursuing a different line of conduct, he must have materially hurt his own interest.

It has been observed above that the leaguers had only three towns left in Picardy, to wit, la Ferre, Ham, and Soissons. The Governor of the first, named Colas, had delivered it up to the Spaniards; and d'Orvilliers had done the same by Ham, which however they did not keep long; for Humieres, one of the bravest men of that age, came and attacked them so vigorously, that, after a long and bloody resistance, they were all cut in pieces: but Humieres himself was killed there with above two hundred other brave men with him.

This loss so exasperated all good Frenchmen against the leaguers, that the most part of the latter fled, through despair, into the low countries, and into Spain, where they met with a very favourable reception at first, and got very good pay, for which they did a great deal of mischief to France. Amongst the rest was a vaillant Captain, named Rône, who imagining that all those would be treated with the utmost rigor, who had not towns to purchase their

peace with, resolved to make war in such a manner as either to make the Spaniards reward him well, or give the King cause to buy him off.

It was he who suggested to Count Fuentes the design of besieging Cambray, after he had taken Cattelet by storm, and who, to facilitate that great enterprize, prevailed upon him to take Dourlans first, in order to prevent the French from coming with an army to its assistance. It was likewise by his advice that Fuentes went to meet the Duke of Nevers, Marshal Bouillon, and Admiral Villars, who were coming to the relief of Dourlens; that he engaged and defeated them with great slaughter of the French nobility; got the brave Villars killed in cool blood, and afterwards returned before Cambray, which he took by famine, while the King was occupied in Burgundy.

Henry was consoled for these two great losses, Dourlens and Cambray, by a very important and long-expected piece of news. He was informed that the Pope, notwithstanding all the difficulties and opposition made by Spain, had at length given him the absolution, the sixteenth of September, by the negotiation

and at the pursuit of d'Ossat and du Perron ; his sollicitors at the Court of Rome , each of whom was , afterwards , at his recommendations , honoured with a Cardinal's hat.

The Duke of Mayenne having then no excuse , not even the ressource of hope left him , resolved at last to come to an accommodation. It was rather late , and he had no right to expect any thing but the utmost rigor if the King's generosity had not outweighed his obstinacy. It is true the beautiful Gabrielle , who was very obliging to all such as looked up to her for protection , and who was intent upon making friends for herself , in order to support her in her ambitious views of marrying the King , contributed not a little to procure him very advantageous terms. Indeed the edict , which the King issued out in his favor , was so honourable , and the conditions he granted him so advantageous , that no subject ever obtained the like from a King of France : but they would have been much more so , if before his party had fallen so very low , he had treated for the great towns of which he was still as it were the chief , and by this means he would have been sure of always having them in his interest.

Some time after he came to Monceaux to pay his respects to the King, who seeing him coming in an alley where he was walking, advanced a few steps towards him, with all the cheerfulness of a good reception, and embraced him three times, assuring him at the same time, that he considered him as a man of honor, and did not entertain the least doubt of his word: in short he treated him with as much frankness and candor as if he had been always attached to his service. The Duke, who felt all his kindness, said, as he was going away, « that it was « then only the King had completely conquered him ». Indeed he ever after proved a most faithful subject; as the King shewed himself a good Prince, and a strict observer of his word.

At the time the Duke of Mayenne concluded his treaty, and obtained an edict from the King to confirm it; the new Duke of Nemours, his uterine brother, who had been called Marquis of Saint-Sorlin, during the life time of the brave Duke of Nemours, his elder brother, made his peace likewise with the King, by the mediation of his mother, and gave him up the few small towns he still possessed in Lyonnois and Forez.

His elder brother, one of the bravest and most noble-spirited men that ever lived, died the foregoing year of a strange distemper, which from time to time forced all the blood in his body out through his mouth and pores, whether this proceeded from the extreme grief, with which he was affected, after his escape out of the castle of Pierre-Encise, on hearing the surrender of Vienne, his surest place of retreat; or from some acrid and corrosive poison which, it is said, had been given him by those who dreaded his resentment, I shall not pretend to determine. He died a bachelor, and his younger brother, of whom we speak, was the father of the Nemours who died not many years since.

The Duke of Joyeuse, who after the death of his younger brother, killed at the battle of Villemur near Montauban, had quitted the habit of a Capuchin friar, to put himself at the head of the league in Languedoc, where he had engaged the city of Toulouse, and the neighbouring country in the interest of that party, took also this opportunity of making his peace, by the mediation of Cardinal Joyeuse his other brother. He obtained very favourable terms, and amongst other things the staff of Marshal of France.

The King had still the Duke of Mercœur to reduce, as also Marseilles. This city was governed by Charles de Casaux, Consul, and Louis d'Aix, another Magistrate, who had usurped all the power. Just as these two men were going to deliver it up to the Spaniards, a citizen named Libertat, at the head of some of his friends, made the inhabitants rise up against them, and having killed Casaux, and expelled d'Aix, he first restored it to its liberty, and then prevailed on the inhabitants to submit to the King.

With respect to the Duke of Mercœur, the King granted him a prolongation of the truce, as it was not then in his power to go and dispossess him of the rest of Brittany, having business enough on his hands at the siege of la Fere, in which he had made but a very indifferent progress, tho' he had been three or four months at it, in person. Moreover, it happened that, when he was least thinking of it, the Arch-Duke Albert, commander in chief of the Spanish forces, at the instigation of that Rone we have spoken of, laid siege to Calais, and that Rone, who was an excellent Officer, having first possessed himself of the forts of Risban,

and Nieulé , the Spaniards took the town by storm, the twenty fourth of April, and put all to the sword. Shortly after la Fere surrendered to the King for want of provisions. The Spanish garrison that had capitulated would take no hostages from the King, saying they knew him to be a generous Prince, and would depend on his word : a testimony the more glorious for him , as it proceeded from the mouth of his enemies.

His concern for the loss of Calais was not a little heightened by the taking of Guines and Ardres, owing to the skill and valor of Rone, who would not have stopt there, if, luckily for France, he had not been killed, a few months after, at the siege of Hulst near Ghent.

The news of these four or five great losses one after the other, struck terror into the people, and the Spanish Emissaries, by their lies, and artifices, did all they could to sow new seeds of division in the minds of the people, under the specious pretence of redressing their grievances. They were very great, it is true; but they proceeded from the ravages of war, and the exigency of affairs, more than from any fault of the King, who wished for nothing more

ardently than to ease his subjects as soon as possible, as we shall see.

What added to his concern was, that he knew not how to carry on the war for want of money; and he foresaw by the murmurs which had already been excited, that, by laying an additional burthen on the people, he would raise some new storm against himself. « Thus
« cruelly circumstanced, he had recourse to
« the grand remedy usually practised whenever
« France is in danger, » I mean the convocation of the states, which is of great use, when free, and uninfluenced by faction. The urgency of the occasion did not permit him to assemble them in a body; he convened only the principal Peers, Prelates and nobility of his realm, together with the head members of the courts of Judicature, and Finances.

He appointed the meeting to be held at Rouen in the great hall of the Abbey of Saint Ouen, in the middle of which he was seated in a chair raised in form of a throne under a canopy. At each side of him were the Prelates and Lords; behind were the four secretaries of state; under him were placed the first Presidents, and the deputies of the supreme courts

of Judicature , and Finances. He opened the scene by a speech worthy of a true King , who should be persuaded that his greatness and authority do not consist in absolute power , but in the good of his people , and preservation of his realm.

If I plumed myself on being thought a great orator, said he , I should have taken care to come here with more fine phrases , than good will : but my ambition aims at a much nobler praise, than that of speaking well; I aspire to the glorious titles of savor and restorer of France. Already by the favor of Divine Providence , by the counsels of my faithful servants , and the sword of my brave and generous nobles (between whom and my Princes I make no difference, the title of Gentleman being the first and finest of all those we possess) I have rescued it from slavery and ruin. I now wish to restore it to its ancient strength and splendor. Partake , my subjects , of this second glory , as you have of the first. I have not called you together here , to oblige you , like my predecessors , blindly to approve my will; but to take your advice , to believe, to follow it, in a word to put myself under your care and guardianship. It is an

humor that seldom seizes Kings , grey beards , and conquerors like me : but the love I bear my subjects , and the ardent desire I have of preserving my kingdom , make me find every thing easy and honourable.

The whole assembly was so moved by this pathetic speech , that they affectionately set about providing him with means to carry on the war. With this view they resolved that the payment of the Officers should be put off for a year ; and that all commodities entering walled towns should , for the space of two years only , pay a sol a livre : corn , being the principal food of the poor , was , for that reason , excepted. This last expedient occasioned some murmurings in the provinces beyond the Loire ; but Rony , whom the King , some months before , had made superintendant , and who was a no less able than faithful minister , added to this fund a considerable sum , which the financiers had diverted , and which he returned into the King's coffers.

In the mean while the King of Spain , feeling his body and mind declining very fast , was afraid that the weak state he was in , might occasion revolts in his territories , that were at

such a distance from each other. Besides, he had exhausted his finances, and he ardently wished to leave the low countries to his dear daughter Isabella. These considerations inclined him to peace, and induced him to acquaint the Pope therewith. His holiness, the better to confirm him in those dispositions, sent him the General of the Cordeliers.

When the treaty was pretty far advanced, an accident happened, which retarded it for more than a year. Hernandez Teillo, the Spanish Governor of Dourlens, having received information of the bad discipline observed by the citizens of Amiens, in guarding their town, took it by surprize one morning at nine o' clock, in lent, while they were hearing a sermon, having blocked up one of the gates with a cart loaded with walnuts, a sack of which got loosened on purpose to amuse the soldiers, who were in the guard-house. This stroke of adverse fortune was the more sensibly felt by the King, as he was then enjoying himself at Paris. « He
« had ordered all packets of importance to be
« given into his own hands, and to nobody
« else, and that they should be carried to him
« the very instant they arrived, let the hour be

« what it would ; so that , being in a profound
 « sleep , after a ball , the express came to wake
 « him , and acquaint him with the news of that
 « melancholy accident ».

He immediately jumps out of bed , and sends for two or three of his most intimate confidants , to consult with them upon what was best to be done. They all agreed that it happened in a very unfortunate moment , because the Duke of Mercœur was so powerful in Britany , that the remaining sparks of faction lay still concealed under the ashes ; that the Huguenots were caballing ; that , in fine , Paris was in the utmost consternation , seeing itself become thereby a frontier city : but Henry , whose undaunted courage had braved so many dangers , was not to be dismayed at this ; on the contrary , he boldly resolved to face it , and go as speedily as possible to block up Amiens , before the Spaniards had time to settle themselves in it.

His best Officers were not of that opinion : but notwithstanding all that , he yielded to the impulse of his superior talents and resolution , and courageously persisted in his design , not that he relied so much on human means , he said , as on the divine assistance , which he had experienced upon all occasions.

Indeed he never had a more visible proof of it than on this one, for he discovered several conspiracies that were formed against his person, and amongst others that of a monk, whom a Spanish emissary had instigated, as was said, to take away his life. He likewise discovered some very dangerous factions at Paris, which were fomented by Spanish gold, and which watched all his steps, with a view to carry him away, some day or other, by force, from his palace at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

Besides his subjects, in return for his paternal affection, granted him all he demanded of them to push on this siege. The Duke of Mayenne too, and all the leaguers, who had come over to his side, to shew him the lively sense they had of all his kindness, served him so faithfully and so warmly on this occasion, whilst others were wavering, and kept out of the way, that he was forced to acknowledge the most part of them were enemies of the Huguenot Religion only, but never of his person.

The siege was very long, obstinate and doubtful, and had the Spanish Monarch employed all his forces at it, the King would never

have succeeded in his attempt, but he was grown peevish, and careless about any more conquest; all he wished for was peace and quiet; so that he gave the Arch-Duke none of the succours he demanded of him. The Arch-Duke, however, made a last effort to force Henry to raise the siege. He one day appeared, very unexpectedly, with all his forces, at the quarter of Long-Pré, which threw the French into such confusion and dismay, that had he availed himself of that circumstance, and not lost time in consultations, he could have easily thrown the three thousand men into the town, which he had destined for that purpose.

The King, who had been hunting, found, on his return, his whole army seized with a panic terror, which had even communicated itself to some of his head Officers. In this critical juncture, neither his head nor his heart failed him; he dissembled his fears, gave his orders without the least emotion, appeared every where with as gay a countenance, and spoke with as much confidence and resolution, as if he had just gained a victory. He immediately orders his troops to the field of battle he had chosen three days before, at about eight

hundred paces from the lines, and from thence considering the fine disposition of the Spanish army, the dejection of his own, the weakness of his post, which he had not had time to fortify, a sudden damp came over his noble heart and he doubted the success of the day. Then leaning on the pommel of his saddle, with his hat in his hand, and his eyes lifted up to heaven, he exclaimed aloud: *Oh! God! if it is to day thou hast resolved to punish me, as my sins deserve, here is my head, I offer it up to thy justice: spare not the guilty: but oh! God, in thy mercy, have compassion on this poor kingdom, nor let the flock suffer for the fault of the shepherd.*

It is impossible to express what an effect those words produced: they were instantly carried throughout his whole army, and it seemed as if some divine influence had animated the vigor of his men, and restored them their courage.

The Arch-Duke, therefore, finding them resolute and prepared to receive him, thought proper not to attack them. Having failed in some other attempts, which he afterwards made, he retired, by night, into Artois, where he dismissed his troops. In short, Hernandez

Teillo having been killed with a musket-shot, the besieged capitulated, and the King gave the command of the town to Lord de Vic, a strict observer of order and discipline, who, by his orders, began to build a citadel there.

At his departure from Amiens, the King led his army to the very gates of Arras, to pay a visit to the Arch-Duke. He remained there three whole days in order of battle, and saluted the town with some vollies of cannon-shot; but seeing nobody appear, he retired into France, ill satisfied, as he gallantly said, with the courtesy of the Spaniards, who had not the politeness to advance even a single step to meet him, and who had, very ungentlely, declined the honor he did them.

Marshal Biron did wonders at this siege; nor was the King ungrateful for it; for on his return to Paris, when the town-Officers had given him a truly royal reception, he presented the Marshal to them, saying: *here, Gentlemen, is Marshal Biron, whom I willingly present to my friends and foes.*

The only person, that still openly held out for the league in France, was the Duke of Mercœur, cantoned in Brittany. The King had

repeatedly granted him truces, and offered him very advantageous terms; but he was so infatuated with the ambition of making himself Duke of that country, that he always found some new pretext for putting off coming to a conclusion, imagining that time would bring about some revolution in his favor, and flattering himself with I know not what prophecies, which assured him the King would not be alive in two years.

1598 At last the King tired by his repeated delays, turned all his thoughts that way, and resolved to chastise his obstinacy as it deserved. The Duke was irrecoverably done for, had he not, to save his life, bethought himself of offering his only daughter in marriage to the eldest son of Gabrielle, Dutchess of Beaufort, the present Duke of Vendome.

All that his deputies could at first obtain was, that if he immediately quitted Brittany, and delivered up all the towns in his possession there, his Majesty would grant him an act of oblivion for the past, and receive him into his good graces: but the King, whose heart was tenderness itself, and who wished to advance his natural son by marrying him in so rich and

noble a family, soon relented, and granted him a very advantageous edict, which was registered by the Parliament, as all those of the other heads of the league had been. This treaty of accommodation was made at Angiers, the marriage-contract was past at the Castle, and the ceremony of betrothing was celebrated with as much magnificence as if he had been a legitimate Prince of the blood Royal. He was only four years of age, and the girl six.

The King made him a present of the Dutchy of Vendome, with the same rights and privileges that the Dukes his predecessors had enjoyed. This the Parliament registered, not without the utmost reluctance, and with this clause, that it should not serve as a precedent for him in the disposal of the other parts of his patrimony, which, by the established laws of the kingdom, were looked upon as united to the crown from the moment he came to the throne.

From Angiers the King went down into Brittany, and after having passed some time at Nantes, he went from thence to Rennes, where there was a meeting of the states.

He passed about two months in these two

cities amidst feasts, plays and diversions; « but
« this did not prevent him from seriously ap-
« plying himself to the dispatch of business ;
« for it is worth remarking , that this great
« Prince always gave up his mornings to affairs
« of importance, and the rest of his time to his
« amusement : not but he was always ready to
« quit his pleasures, when any affair of moment
« was concerned; and he had given express
« orders that, on such occasions, he should be
« advertised without delay ».

He broke many useless garrisons in that Province; suppressed several taxes, which the tyranny of private men had introduced during the civil broils; discarded troops that plundered and laid waste the flat country; put the martial law in force against robbers and highway-men who were grown very numerous; restored authority to justice, which the licentiousness of the times had considerably weakened, and in fine collected near four millions of livres, of which the states of the Province willingly made him a grant of eight hundred thousand crowns. Thus he succeeded in gaining the two points, which he chiefly aimed at; to wit, the relief of his people, and the improvement of his finances;

« two things which are incompatible , when
 « the Prince has neither justice nor oeconomy ,
 « or leaves the handling of his money , to
 « others , without ever taking care of his own
 « accounts ».

Thus , by a particular favor of Providence ; and by the labors , goodness and valor of the best of Kings , was France at length restored to a calm after the storms of a ten years civil war. In the mean while a treaty of peace was set on foot by the two courts of France and Spain. Both Kings longed for it equally ; Henry because he wished above all things to ease his subjects , and give his kingdom time to recover its strength , after so many bleedings , and violent shocks ; and Philip because he felt his end drawing near , and that he knew his son Philip the third was not able to maintain the war against so great a Prince as Henry.

The deputies on both sides , together with the Pope's Nuncio , were for three months together , assembled , for that purpose , in the little town of Vervin. Those of France were Pompone de Bellievre and Nicholas Brulart de Sillery , both Counsellors of state , and the latter then President of Parliament. They soon

settled the most difficult points, because they acted in concert and without any jealousy, and pursuant to the orders they received from the King, they signed the peace the second of May. The twelfth of the same month it was proclaimed at Vervin.

It would be too tedious a task to relate all the articles of this treaty. Suffice it to say, that the substance of them was this: the Spaniards were to give back all the places they had taken in Picardy, and Blavet, which they still possessed in Brittany: the Duke of Savoy was to be comprised in this treaty, on condition he restored the town of Berre, which he held in Provence. With respect to the Marquisate of Saluces, which this Duke had invaded; and wrested from France towards the end of Henry the third's reign, that point was to be left to the judgment of the Pope, who was to decide it within a year.

The same day peace was proclaimed throughout all the towns of France, and the low countries, with rejoicings, the noise of which reached the two extremities of Christendom; but nobody felt a more real joy, on that occasion, than our Henry, who used to say « that it was

« a barbarous thing , and against all the laws
« of nature and Christianity to make war for
« warsake , and that a Christian Prince ought
« never to refuse peace , unless he was mani-
« festly too great a loser by it ».

PART THE THIRD.

HITHERTO we have followed our Hero, ¹⁵⁹⁸ through extremely difficult and rugged paths, over rocks and precipices, in stormy and tempestuous times : we shall now follow him through smoother and more beautiful walks, into the sweet and calm recesses of peace, where we shall still find his great and active soul incessantly employed in the duties of a King, and where his most necessary and important occupations constitute the principal part of his amusements.

In the two first parts of his life, we have seen him a warrior from necessity : in this one we shall find him a great politician from inclination : but in all, invincible and infatigable.

« The true duty of a sovereign consists chiefly
« in protecting his subjects, in defending them
« against foreigners, and in quelling factions
« and rebellions. It is for this he carries the
« sword of power, and he ought therefore,
« for his own sake to be a perfect master of the

« art of war ; but this is only one part of his
« duty , and , it must be owned , neither the
« most necessary nor pleasing one , because he
« can always make war by the means of his
« Lieutenants. The happiest Prince is , un-
« doubtedly , he , who regulates his affairs in
« such a manner , that he never need draw the
« sword : who has power enough to render
« justice , to punish the wicked , to honor and
« raise men of merit ; who knows how to dis-
« pense favors and rewards , preserve peace
« and good order , and maintain the laws ; who
« takes care to be often and minutely informed
« of what passes , supports his reputation and
« greatness by his good conduct , and makes
« himself dreaded by his enemies , and esteem-
« ed by his allies ; who accustoms himself to
« preside in his council , as becomes a sove-
« reign ; who gives audience to Ambassadors ,
« answers them , and settles affairs of impor-
« tance by treaties and negotiations , who in-
« cessantly watches to prevent evil , and puts it
« out of the power of his enemies to hurt him ;
« who renders the state rich , flourishing and
« happy , by encouraging agriculture , commerce
« and the arts and sciences ; but who , above all ,

« honors and protects Religion. These , in my
 « opinion , are the employments worthy of a
 « powerful King, a wise and Christian Prince,
 « who being , as I may say , the shepherd of his
 « people , ought not only to know to hunt
 « wolves , that is to say , to make war , but,
 « what is more , to conduct his flock , preserve
 « it from diseases , fatten and make it mul-
 « tiply ».

Peace having been proclaimed with incredible rejoicings of the French, Flemish, and Spaniards ; it was solemnly sworn by the King, the twenty first of June , in the Church of Notre-Dame , in the presence of the Duke of Arscot , and of the Amirante of Arragon , Ambassadors of the King of Spain for that purpose. Cardinal Arch-Duke Albert, Governor of the low countries for Spain, swore it likewise, the twenty sixth of the same month, in the town of Brussels, in presence of Marshal Biron, as much to give new splendor to his embassy, as to reward the services, which this Nobleman had rendered him in the course of the war.

It was during this Embassy that the Spaniards plyed this new-created Duke with the incense of praise and adulation to such a de-

gree, that they quite intoxicated him. His pride and vanity were so puffed up that he took it into his head, the King could never make him a proper return for all the obligations he was under to him, and that if his merit was not sufficiently rewarded in France, he would find some other place where a higher value would be set upon it. This self-conceit was, shortly after, productive of very bad consequences.

Many of the French, who were not sufficiently acquainted with the wretched situation the King of Spain and his affairs were in, could not comprehend how this Prince could purchase peace at so dear a rate, as by restoring six or seven strong towns, amongst others, Calais and Blavet, which might well be called the keys of France. The Spaniards, on the contrary, who saw their King drawing near his end, his finances exhausted, the low countries convulsed, Portugal, and his Italian territories on the point of a revolt, his son, a good, but quiet and unactive Prince, the Spaniards, I say, were surprised that the French, having so bravely retaken Amiens, and united all their forces together, after the treaty with the Duke of Mercœur, did not pursue their point, and enter

the low countries , because , in all probability , they would have either conquered or made a considerable breach in them.

To this the King made answer that « if he
 « had desired peace, it was not because he was
 « tired of the troubles and inconveniencies
 « attending on war, but to give Europe time to
 « breath : that he knew very well it only de-
 « pended of him to derive considerable advan-
 « tages from the situation affairs were then in ;
 « but he likewise knew that the hand of God
 « often overturned Princes in the full career of
 « their prosperities, and that a wise King ought
 « never to reject a good peace, in hopes of some
 « favourable turn of fortune , nor trust too far
 « to the appearance of present happiness, which
 « a thousand unforeseen accidents can alter
 « and destroy ; there being several instances of
 « men knocked down , and grievously wound-
 « ed , who killed those that wanted to make
 « them beg their lives «.

It was easily seen , in a very short time , that Philip the second stood in greater need of peace than Henry ; for his disorder grew every day worse and worse , and for two and twenty days together he continually lost blood through

all the passages of his body. A little before his death he got four imposthumes in his breast, from whence issued a continual stream of vermin, which all the care of his Officers was unable to dry up.

In this strange distemper he shewed incredible firmness and constancy, nor did he quit the reins of Government till the very last moment of his life; for he took care, before he died, to treat about the marriage of his son to Marguerite, daughter of the Arch-Duke of Grats; and of his dear daughter Isabella, to Cardinal Arch-Duke Albert of the same blood with herself, and gave him for her portion the low countries, and the County of Burgundy, reversible to the crown of Spain, in case she died without issue.

He had signed, it is true, the articles of peace: but his mortal distemper did not permit him to take the oath with all the solemn formalities, that the King and Arch-Duke had done. Philip the third, his son and successor fulfilled that obligation the twenty first of May 1601, in the city of Valladolid, in the presence of Count de la Rochepot, the French Ambassador.

The licentiousness of war having, for several years been favourable to impunity, there were still numbers of idle vagrants, who thought they were permitted to invade other people's property; whilst others, who acknowledged no law but force, imagined they had always a right to do themselves justice that way. It was this obliged our wise King to begin the reformation of his kingdom, by reestablishing the public safety. With this view, he forbade all persons whatsoever, to carry fire-arms, on pain of confiscation of their arms and horses, and of two hundred crowns fine, for the first time, and on pain of death, without remission, for the second; permitting every body to arrest all those upon whom they would be found, except his light horse, his Gendarmes, and his life-guards, who were allowed to carry them only when on duty.

With the like intent, and to purge the flat country from multitudes of useless soldiers, he not only dismissed the greatest part of the new-raised troops, but he likewise reduced the old ones to about half the number; he left but a few companies of artillery, and he took away the use of guards from the Governors of Pro-

vinces and King's Lieutenants, because he did not chuse to allow any body whatsoever, but himself, to have that glorious mark of sovereignty about his person.

The civil broils had ruined commerce, reduced the towns into villages, the villages into heaps of rubbish, and converted the fields into uncultivated wastes, and yet the collectors obliged the poor peasants to pay taxes for fruits they never had. The cries of those unfortunate wretches, so affected the tender and compassionate heart of so good, so just a King, that he issued out an edict, whereby he forgave them all they owed him till then, and comforted them with a near prospect of a still greater relief.

Besides, having been informed that many people had, during the troubles, set up for Nobles, without right or title, and thus eluded the taxes, he ordered a diligent search to be made after them; and far from confirming them in their usurpation, for a sum of money, as is sometimes the case, to the great detriment of the other taxable subjects, he ordered they should be again liable to taxation, that, by this means, they might help the poor to bear

a good part of the burden, as being the best able to do it.

He likewise wished to reward his true nobility, and make them amends for the expences they had been at in his service; but his coffers were empty, and, besides, all the gold of Perue would not be sufficient to satisfy the craving appetites and luxury of so many people; for Henry the third, and his minions, after his example, had carried expence to so monstrous a pitch, that the Lords wanted to live like Princes, and the Gentlemen like Lords. This obliged them to alienate the possessions of their Nobility, and convert their old castles, those illustrious works of their nobility into tinsel, gildings, horses and equipages; and when they had contracted debts beyond their fortune, they fell either on the King's coffers, by asking pensions, or on the back of the poor, whom they ground by a thousand extortions and depredations.

To remedy this evil, the King declared openly to his Nobility that they must accustom themselves to live each on his fortune, and that, since it was peace-time, they would do well to go to their respective homes, and take

care of the improvement of their estates. Thus, by sending them back to their Provinces, he relieved them from the enormous and destructive expences of the court, and taught them that oeconomy and good husbandry are the surest sources of wealth. Besides, knowing that the French Nobility pique themselves on taking the King for their pattern in all things, he taught them by his own example to retrench all superfluities in point of dress : for he usually wore a grey cloth-coat with a silk or sattin doublet, without any pinking, lace or embroidery. He commended those who went dressed in that manner, and laughed at such as, in his own energetic way of expressing it, carried their mills and lofty woods upon their backs.

Towards the latter end of the year, he was seized with a sudden and violent distemper at Monceaux, which was very near carrying him off. All France lay in trembling apprehension of the event; it was rumoured about that he was despaired of, which had like to rekindle the flames of faction; but at the end of ten or twelve days he was well, and it seemed as if God had sent him this sickness with no other view, than to furnish him with an opportunity of discovering those, who still remained disaf-

fect to him, and of feeling, by the part his subjects took in his illness, the delicious pleasure of being beloved. In the height of his disorder he said these fine and pathetic words to his friends : *I am by no means afraid of death ; I have often braved it in the greatest dangers ; but I own I am sorry to quit this life without having raised this kingdom to the splendor I proposed, and without having convinced my people, by governing them well, and relieving them from so many taxes, that I love them as if they were my children.*

On his recovery, he went to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, pursuant to the laudable design he had formed of putting his affairs in order, and there set about regulating the lists of expences, not only of his household, but of the army, the artillery, the pay of Officers, and, in fine, all matters respecting Government expences. These he examined and discussed with wonderful judgment and perspicuity. Amongst the many superfluities, of all kinds, which he retrenched, he considerably lessened the expences of his own tables, with a view to engage his subjects to do the like, and prevent their ruining themselves that way ; and indeed the King's example, more powerful than laws or

punishment, soon converted luxury into frugality so necessary to the good of the state.

He also used sometimes to consult some very able Magistrates, whom he knew to be much attached to him, amongst the rest, Achilles de Harlay first President of Parliament, and Jacques de Thou, likewise President of the same body, whom he employed in several very important negotiations.

The Chancellor, de Chiverny, who had been raised to that Office, in the reign of Henry the third, was a man of great coolness, dissimulation, and prudence; but, in the opinion of his enemies, much fitter to be a practitioner in the law, than a Counsellor of state.

He died the year following, and was succeeded by Pomponne de Bellievre, a man perfectly versed in the rights and interests of France, and a consummate negotiator, of which the treaty of Vervin was an undeniable proof. He was pretty far advanced in years, when the King raised him to that office; which made him say, that he entered into it only to leave it. It was he that engaged the King to give out a severe edict against duelling: he established an excellent order in the Council, and ordained

that no person should be received master of Requests, who had not been ten years in some of the sovereign Courts, or sixteen in other inferior tribunals.

To acquire a more perfect knowledge of his finances, and a certainty of neither being mistaken himself, nor deceived by those, who had the handling of them, he kept in his closet a list of his household, another of the navy, and of the artillery, one of the salary of the Officers of Justice and Finances, one of the taxes raised in each province, and of the charges annexed to them, in a word, one of all government expences, which he often looked into, and examined, in order to add to, or retrench from them, not according to the whims, or importunities of others, but as reason, justice, or the exigency of his affairs required.

He had that time very able and faithful ministers, in his council, such as Chiverny, Bellievre, Sillery, Sancy, Jeannin, Villeroi and Rony. I do not mention his great Generals, such as Marshal Biron, Lesdiguieres, Governor of Dauphiny, the Duke of Mayenne, the Constable Montmorency, Marshal de la Chatre, Marshal d'Aumont, Guitry, la Noue, and many

others, whom he did not employ in the administration, tho' he sometimes did them the honor to confer with them on affairs of the utmost importance, on which he asked their advice.

Nicolas Brulart de Sillery, President a Mortier, of the Parliament of Paris, who was his associate at Vervin, was of a mild, easy, courteous disposition, but dived much deeper into affairs, than he would be thought. He is said never to have discovered the least emotion either by his words or countenance.

Harlay-Sancy was an open, bold, and intrepid man, who dreaded nothing when the King's service was concerned: but he was rather too blunt in his manner, and allowed himself too much liberty in speaking to him.

As to Jeannin President of the Parliament of Burgundy, and Villeroi first Secretary of state, they had both embraced the party of the league, and rendered infinite service both to the King and France in general, in as much as acting only in defence of the Catholic Religion, and not from a spirit of faction, they had prevented the Spaniards from encroaching on the kingdom, and the Duke of Mayenne from ab-

solutely throwing himself into their hands, as the desperate situation of his affairs often prompted him to do. They both agreed in this, that they were both men of deep sense and judgment, warmly attached to the state, and strenuous assertors of Royalty; in other respects their humours were quite different.

Jeannin was one of your old Gauls, who was for following, in all matters, the ancient laws and statutes, an excellent civilian, a steady, and sincere lover of the public weal, who always went on in the straight road, disdaining all crooked and round-about paths.

Villeroi was one of the wisest as well as most skilful Courtiers the world ever saw. He had a strong and clear head, unfolded with incredible facility the most intricate affairs, and explained the most difficult in so pleasing and intelligible a manner, that it was almost impossible not to understand him: he was amazingly active, and withal very fertile in expedients, examining an affair in so many different points of view, that he never was at a loss to know what measure to pursue.

The King had frequent conferences with those Counsellors; for so they were then called,

and not Ministers, as they have been within these thirty five years. He spoke to them of his affairs, sometimes to ask their advice, and sometimes to give them his; this he used to do, either in his closet, or while he was walking in the Tuileries, Monceaux, Saint-Germain or Fontainebleau. He often discoursed with them separately, calling them one after the other, and this, with a view to encourage them to speak to him with more freedom, or else not to be obliged himself to tell them all together, what he wanted to communicate only to some particulars among them, or for some other reason, which was certainly very good policy. There was none of them pleased him so much as Villeroy, and he dispatched, he said, more business with him in an hour, than with the rest in a day.

As for Maximilien of Bethune, Baron of Rony, and afterwards Duke of Sully, having been brought up, very young, with the King, in the Protestant Religion, the King was no stranger to his abilities, nor to the affection he bore him, of both which he had given him undoubted proofs in several affairs of the greatest moment: but he seemed in particular

calculated by nature for the administration of Finances, for which he had all the necessary qualifications. Indeed he was a very exact and regular man, a good oeconomist and strict observer of his word, neither prodigal, ostentatious, nor given to any foolish or useless expences, either in gaming, women, feasts, sumptuous furniture, magnificent buildings, or in any thing else unbecoming a man raised to that office. He was, moreover, laborious, vigilant and expeditious, gave the greatest part of his time to the public business, and very little to his amusements. Add to this his talent of searching into the bottom of affairs, and clearing them from the heap of rubbish, under which dishonest financiers strive to bury their extortions. Above all, he was never concerned in contracts or in the Kings farms, under borrowed names, which is manifest robbery, and deserving the severest punishment, it being certain that a person interested in an affair, instead of raising it to its full value, brings it down as low as he can.

We have seen how desirous the King was of introducing oeconomy into his finances, and the reasons that induced him to continue

Francis d'O in the office of superintendant. After his death, he divided that employment betwixt five or six persons, whom he thought honest and capable of discharging the duties thereof. He took it into his head that he would be better served by them, than by one, from a persuasion they would inspect each other's conduct; but it was quite the reverse: for each depending on his fellow, business was neglected, and if any of them went about doing his duty, he was immediately thwarted by the jealousies of the rest, so that there was but one point in which they agreed, and that was in getting their salary well paid to them, which cost the King six times more, than if he had had but one superintendant, tho' he derived no sort of advantage from having such a number of them.

Seeing, therefore, that so many people served only to entangle his finances, he again put them into the hands of one, who was Sancy; but finding, shortly after, that he was much fitter for other employments, he gave him Rony as a partner, and at last made Rony himself sole superintendant.

Before he entered on his office, Rony took

care to gain every information necessary to acquit himself well of the duties thereof. He knew perfectly well all the revenues of the kingdom, and the expences it was obliged to be at: he communicated all he knew of it to the King, who on his side, had already made so profound a study of all those matters, that it was impossible to expend a hundred crowns without his knowing whether they were well or ill laid out. « As it is the interest of a knavish
 « steward to leave his master in total igno-
 « rance of his own affairs; so it is that of a good
 « and faithful servant, that he should be well
 « informed of, and see clearly into them, that
 « he may the better know and value his ser-
 « vices ».

His disposition agreed perfectly well with that of the King, who, in trusting him with the administration of his finances, desired he would never take a present without telling him of it: but when Rony informed him of it, he not only consented to it, and was glad he found his own account in serving him well, but even frequently gave him presents himself, to encourage him to serve him better and better: but Rony would never, accept them till they had been previously

registered in the Chamber of accounts, in order that the world might know the liberalities of his Prince towards him, and that he might not one day be reproached with having made use of his favor to enrich himself at the expence of his Master.

The first law the King prescribed to his superintendant in the administration of his finances, was to pursue a constant and invariable order, which never ought to be changed, when it has once been resolved and fixed upon; for as the most desperate affairs are mended and set to rights by a steady and persevering conduct, so those that are best established, totter and fall to ruin, under the management of a light and giddy head, who is for ever doing, and undoing, and who will countermand to-morrow the orders of to day.

Rony soon gave indubitable proofs of his ability; for having visited four Generalities only, he in a very short time recovered a million and a half of which there was no account. In like manner, after the Spaniards had taken Amiens by surprize, he found money enough to raise a considerable army, and defray the charges of the siege; so that the retaking of that great city was chiefly owing to him.

We must not forget to mention an expedient he made use of to prevent the knavery of the financiers, which, at all times, must be guarded against. He knew there were some persons in the King's council who were in partnership with the contractors and Farmers general, and who caused the farms to be sold at a very low price, by engaging others considerably to diminish their value. To hinder those Gentlemen from sharing the booty between them, he forbade the underfarmers to pay any thing into their hands, but to carry the money of their underfarms and contracts straight to the Exchequer. By these means he doubled the King's revenues, the under-farms and treaties amounting to near two thirds more than the general compacts and leases. He likewise regulated the public expence in such a manner, as made it unnecessary for the King to borrow, which, by eating up a Prince's revenue, is a sure way of keeping him in continual distress; and if at any time he obliged the Farmers general to pay him in advance, it was without any draw-back.

Those of the King's Council, who were shamefully concerned in the farms, loudly

complained of his conduct in the beginning ; laid a thousand snares for him , and were continually throwing stumbling-blocks in his way ; but in time he got the better of all that. In like manner those , who , without any right or title , were eternally pestering him with their importunate demands , and could extort nothing from him , bitterly inveighed against his hard-heartedness ; but their vain anger and foolish speeches were thrown away upon him ; all he minded was to discharge the King's lawful debts , and to pay speedily what was ordered for good purposes : for he did not know what it was , to be asked a hundred times for a just debt.

« I have dwelt somewhat on the article of
« finances, because it is the most important of
« all others ; that which does all , and without
« which nothing can be done ; that , in fine ,
« upon which depends the happiness or misery
« of a people , and the good or bad success
« of an enterprize ».

The King was also very desirous of bringing about a reformation of the Clergy , who were in a truly deplorable situation , both with regard to spirituals and temporals. As to the latter

their property had been usurped, during the wars, as well by the Huguenots, as the bad Catholics; and as to spirituals, an almost general ignorance and depravation of manners prevailed amongst the Prelates and Pastors. It was not, however, at that time in his power to remedy the evil. The necessity he was under of rewarding those, who had served him well, made him not only connive at abuses, but be guilty of them himself, by disposing of benefices, as Charles Martel formerly had done, in favor of persons not qualified to possess them, such as, married and military men, Children, and even women, in order to recompense them for the loss of their husbands, who had either been killed or ruined in his service.

I do not pretend to justify this measure, because there never can be a just and lawful reason for thus profaning and prostituting the goods of the sanctuary, and employing them to other purposes than those of the altar, as is the too common practice of many Ecclesiastics, who, in this, are worse than the Jews, that played at dice on the sacred robe of our Lord.

Towards the latter end of that year, an address was presented to the King, by the general

body of the Clergy , then met at Paris , praying him to have the Council of Trent published in France ; not to charge his conscience with nominating to Bishoprics , Abbeyes , and other livings , having the care of souls ; not to give Laics pensions on Benefices , nor suffer Churches and holy places to be profaned , as they were ; but to endeavour to reestablish divine service therein.

With respect to the Council of Trent , it was received in France , as to articles of faith , but not generally as to points of mere police and discipline ; these last being looked upon by many as contrary to the liberties of the Gallican Church , and the rights of the King. Hence it is , that notwithstanding all the efforts of the most zealous amongst them to have it received , they never could succeed , the Parliaments having always strenuously opposed it.

The King made a short but eloquent answer to this address of the Clergy. *He acknowledged , he said , that what they had mentioned with regard to the nomination to Benefices , was very true , but that he was not the author of that abuse ; he had found it : that , being come to the crown during the combustion of civil wars , he*

had run to that part where he saw the fire was greatest, in order to extinguish it; that now there was peace, he would endeavour to raise the two columns of France, Justice and Piety: that, with the help of God he would render the Church as flourishing as it was in the time of Lewis XII: but, added he, I request you will contribute, on your part, to this pious work; and endeavour to set as good examples to your flocks as you have hitherto set them bad ones. You exhort me to do my duty, and I exhort you to do yours; let the contest between us be, who will do it best. My Predecessors have paid you off with fine words, but I with my grey Jacket shall give you deeds. Grey as my outside is, I am all gold within. I shall examine your resolutions, and give you as favourable an answer as I can.

He had need of all his prudence, skill and address to conduct himself so as to please the Catholics and the Pope, without alarming the Huguenots, or giving them any reason to suspect foul play. His duty and conscience inclined him to the relief of the former; but reasons of state, and the great obligations he was under to the latter, pleaded strongly in

their behalf, and made it dangerous to drive them to despair. To keep, therefore, a necessary medium, he issued out an edict granting them much more extensive privileges than they had hitherto enjoyed. It was called the edict of Nantes, from having been enacted the year before in that city during his residence there. By this edict they were allowed a free and full exercise of their Religion, and liberty to possess places under Government or employments in hospitals, colleges &c. besides leave to have schools in some places, and meetinghouses almost every where, with several other privileges, which they have since been deprived of, on account of their restless and turbulent spirit and frequent rebellions.

The Parliament strenuously opposed this edict for more than a year together; but being made sensible that it would be only kindling anew the flames of a civil war in the kingdom, to refuse this security to the Huguenots, who were a powerful and factious party, they consented at last to have it registered.

On the other hand, to prevent the Pope from taking offence at this edict, the King shewed him all manner of respect, and warmly

espoused his cause in the affair of Ferrara, in the year 1597, and 1598.

This Dutchy is a fief of the holy see, with which the Popes had formerly invested the Lords of the house of Est on condition it should revert to it, in default of a legitimate male child. The last Duke, Alphonsus d'Est, second of that name, died in the year 1597, without issue, and had left an immense treasure to Cæsar d'Est, natural son of Alphonsus the first, his relation. He had done every thing in his power to prevail on the Pope to grant the investiture of this Dutchy to his natural child, who, without waiting to obtain it, took possession of it after the death of Alphonsus II, and wanted to maintain himself there by force of arms. Clement VIII was obliged to make war against him in order to dispossess him. The Italian Princes were divided in this quarrel, and the Dukes of Guise and Nemours were on the point of espousing the cause of Cæsar, whose near relations they were, being descended of Anne d'Est, daughter of Hercules the second, Duke of Ferrara, and of Renée of France; for this Anne was married first to Francis Duke of Guise, and afterwards to James

Duke of Nemours. The King of Spain also favoured him underhand, to prevent the Pope from growing too powerful in Italy by the reunion of that Dutchy to his dominions : but Henry the great failed not to take this occasion of offering his sword and forces to his Holiness. Cæsar's Allies having heard this, grew very cool upon it, so that he was forced to capitulate with the Pope, to whom he resigned the Dutchy of Ferrara. The only places he had remaining were the cities of Modena and Reggio, which the Emperor maintained to be a fief of the Empire, and of which he gave him the investiture. Hence come the present Dukes of Modena.

The Pope was mightily pleased with the King for the ardor with which he espoused, on that occasion, the interest of the holy see; but he was not less so with the pains he daily took to bring back the Huguenots to the bosom of the Church. He went about it in such a manner, that many of the principal people, and even of the best informed amongst them, were hourly converted to the Catholic faith : but what was still of greater consequence, he had taken the young Prince of Condé out of

the hands of the Huguenots, who kept him with great care at Saint-Jean-d'Angely, since the death of his father, which happened in the year 1587, and educated him in their false doctrine, in hopes of making him one day their head and Protector. The King considering how prejudicial it would be to the spiritual interest of this young Prince, and to his own affairs in particular, to leave him any longer in such hands, prevailed on the principal people of that party to let him be carried to court. He put him under the care of John de Vivonne, Marquis of Pisani, a nobleman of extraordinary merit, and unblemished character, who paid the greatest attention to his education grounding him well in the principles of the Catholic Religion, and instilling into his tender mind the noblest sentiments of honor and virtue. He was then only seven or eight years old, but when he had attained his ninth year, the King gave him the Government of Guienne, tenderly loving and educating him, as his presumptive heir and successor.

During this calm of peace there was nothing talked of but rejoicings, feasts and marriages. That of the Infanta of Spain, Isabella-Clara-

Eugenia , with the Arch-Duke Albert , was solemnized in the low countries ; and that of Catherine , the King's sister , with Henry Duke of Bar , eldest son of Charles , Duke of Lorrain , at Paris.

Catherine was forty years of age , more agreeable than handsome , and had one leg shorter than the other : she did not want for wit , was fond of polite litterature , and possessed a greater share of knowledge than usually falls to a woman ; but was an obstinate Huguenot. The King was afraid she would marry some Protestant Prince , who , by this means , might become the protector of the Huguenots , and , as it were , another King in France. This was the reason that made him give her to the Duke of Bar ; besides he imagined it would be adding to his influence amongst the Catholics , thus to connect himself with the house of Lorrain. Previous to her marriage he tried every method in his power , even menaces , to make a convert of her ; but all to no purpose. Seeing , therefore , he could not prevail upon her to become a Catholic , he said one day to the Duke of Bar ; *brother , it is your business to conquer her.*

There was some difficulty with regard to

the place where the marriage was to be celebrated, and the ceremonies to be used on that occasion. The Duke wanted to have it celebrated in a Catholic Church, and Catherine in a Protestant one: but the King found out a medium: he had it performed in his closet, where he led his sister by the hand, and ordered his bastard brother, then Arch-bishop of Rouen, to marry them. This new-made Arch-bishop at first objected to it, alledging it was prohibited by the Canons of the Church; but the King having represented to him that his closet was a sacred place, and that his presence supplied the want of all solemnities, the poor Prelate yielded without any further resistance.

This marriage having been made for the good of the Catholic Religion, one would imagine the Pope ought to have been very glad of it; but he would not permit an evil for the sake of any good that might accrue from it, and therefore declared the Duke of Bar excommunicated for having married a Heretic, without a dispensation from the Church. He held out a long time, before he would give him the absolution, notwithstanding all the entreaties of the Duke to that purpose.

The solemnities of those marriages were not the only topics of conversation at court. Two very remarkable changes that happened, one of the Duke of Joyeuse, and the other of the marchioness of Belle-Isle, filled every body there with surprise and astonishment.

The Duke of Joyeuse had, four or five years before, with the Pope's licence, quitted the habit of Capuchin, to put himself at the head of the league in Languedoc: one day, without communicating his design to any body, he went and shut himself up in the Convent of his order at Paris, and put on the habit again. A few days after, he was seen in that penitential dress, preaching a sermon in the pulpit, to the great astonishment of those, who had seen him, about a week before, dancing at a ball, in all the finery of the most gallant Courtier. It is said the pious exhortations of his mother, who from time to time reminded him of his vows, and certain ambiguous expressions, which the King let fall in some conversation he had with him, all this contributed to persuade him that he could, neither in conscience nor in honor, live any longer in the world.

The Marchioness of Belle-Isle, sister to the

Duke of Longueville, and widow of the Marquis of Belle-Isle, eldest son of Marshal Retz, having had some secret cause of displeasure, renounced the world also, and withdrew into the Convent of the Bernardin Nuns at Toulouse, where she took the veil, and spent the remainder of her days.

Shortly after, news arrived at court, that Philippin, natural son of the Duke of Savoy, had been killed in a duel by Lord Crequi, of whom it may be said without flattery, that he was one of the most gallant as well as one of the bravest men of his age. A description of this combat is to be met with in so many authors, and is still so fresh in the memory of all those who wear a sword, that to mention the particulars of it would be useless.

Hunting was at that time the King's favourite diversion. They say that one day as he was at the chace in the forest of Fontainebleau, attended by several Lords, he heard a great noise of horns, dogs, and huntsmen, which at first seemed to be at a great distance; but in an instant drew quite near them. Some of his attendants advancing about twenty steps, saw a tall black man amidst some thickets, who so

terrified them, that they did not know what became of him; but they heard him cry out to them with a hoarse and dreadful voice. *D'ye hear me, or, do fear me.* The wood-cleavers and country people about the forest said it was no uncommon thing, and that they often saw this tall black man, whom they called the *great huntsman*, hunting with a pack of dogs, and making a dreadful noise, but never hurt any person.

All the Countries in the world are infected by foolish tales of this nature, built upon chimerical events, which every one credits and explains, according as he is more or less influenced by prejudice and imbecillity of understanding. The one we have just mentioned, was looked upon as a presage of some great misfortune, and a forerunner of the strange death of the Dutchess of Beaufort, which happened a few days after.

The love which the King bore her, far from being diminished by fruition, was increased to such a pitch of violence, that she had the assurance to ask him to legitimate her children by a subsequent marriage; nor did he dare absolutely to refuse her, but always kept feeding her on with that hope.

Those who fondly cherish the glory of this great Prince, can scarce believe he could ever have been capable of doing such an action, which would infallibly have sunk him into contempt, and of course, have drawn upon him the hatred of his subjects. However, it was to be feared that the charms of that woman, who knew his weak side, and the flattery of the Courtiers, whom she had almost all bribed by presents and acts of kindness, would allure him on to his own ruin and dishonor. Indeed, to tell the truth, he was rather too fond of the sex; he was master of all his other passions; but love had an absolute sway over him. It is impossible to clear his memory of that charge; and if he is great and admirable in every other respect, he ought not to be followed in this.

However, Gabrielle, from the hopes Henry had given her, was always flattering herself that she would soon be his wife, and prevailed on him to beg of the Pope to name Commissaries for judging of the divorce betwixt him and Queen Marguerite; and the King, to ingratiate himself with his Holiness, and bend him to his will, ordered Sillery, his Ambassador, to tell him, underhand, that he would marry Mary

of Medicis, tho' it is supposed he had at that time no thoughts of it: but whether the Pope suspected his design, or that he saw Queen Marguerite did not give her consent, he put off the affair from day to day, without giving any clear and definitive answer. At last seeing himself one day hard pressed, on this head, by Cardinal d'Ossat, and Sillery, who told him that, if he did not bring the matter to a speedy conclusion, their master might very well marry the Dutchess without his permission: he was so thunderstruck at this speech, that he immediately committed the affair to heaven, ordered a general fast throughout Rome, and earnestly besought God to inspire him with what was best to be done for his glory, and the good of France. When his prayer was over, he is said to have cried out aloud, as if he had been just recovered out of a trance, *God has taken care of it*, and that, a few days after, an express arrived at Rome, with the news of the Dutchess's death.

In the mean while Henry's patience was quite tired out by those delays; and it was feared by some that such contemptuous usage might hurry him on to some rash act, as it had formerly

done Henry the eighth of England; or else that the advice of flatterers might induce him to break through the natural goodness of his disposition, and get rid of Queen Marguerite by any means whatsoever.

Gabrielle was then big with her fourth child. As Easter was drawing near, and the King wished to perform his Easter-duty far from every object of scandal, he sent her to Paris, and conducted her half way. It was with the utmost reluctance that she parted from him, and with tears in her eyes recommended him her children as if heart misgave her she never should see him more.

She arrived in Paris on holy thursday, and lodged at Zamet's, the famous financier, where she dined, and afterwards went to hear tenebres to the Petit-Saint-Antoine. Being returned home, and taking a walk in the garden, she was seized with an apoplectic fit, which was no sooner over, than she said she would stay no longer in that house, and ordered herself to be carried immediately to Madam de Sourdis's, her aunt, near Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, where, during the remaining part of that day, and all the ensuing one, she was seized, from

time to time, with swooning and convulsive fits, of which she died on saturday morning.

Various were the conjectures about the cause of her death; but, after all, it was a lucky circumstance for France, as it robbed the King of a person to whom he was going to sacrifice himself and his kingdom. His grief, on that occasion, was as great as his love had been violent. However, as he was not one of those weak and effeminate souls that delight in eternizing their sorrows, and indulging their tears, he not only accepted, but sought after consolation; yet, he always preserved for the children, and particularly the Duke of Vendome, the affection he had had for the mother.

It was the ardent desire of all patriotic Frenchmen that so great and good a Prince had lawful children. While Gabrielle was living, they durst not press him too much on that score, for fear he should marry her; and it was from the like apprehension that Queen Marguerite had refused her consent to a divorce; but when Gabrielle was dead, she not only willingly agreed to it, but even presented an address to the Pope, requesting herself the dissolution of her marriage, which she pre-

tended to be invalid, chiefly for two reasons. The first was the want of consent on her side, for she alledged that she was forced by Charles the ninth, her brother, to marry Henry: the second was the nearness of consanguinity, which was in the third degree, and for which, she said, no valid dispensation had been ever obtained.

In like manner the Lords of the Realm, and the Parliament besought his Majesty, by solemn deputations, to be graciously pleased to think of taking a wife, representing to him the inconveniencies, and danger to which France would be exposed, should he happen to die without issue. Those deputations will not appear strange to those, who are acquainted with our ancient history; for there we see that neither our Kings, nor their children ever married without the advice of their Barons; and, in those times, that was generally considered as a fundamental law of the Realm.

The King moved with the just supplications of his subjects, presented a petition to the Pope, to the same intent, and grounded on the same reasons, with that of Queen Marguerite, and ordered the Cardinal d'Ossat, and

Sillery his Ambassador extraordinary, whom he had sent to Rome to solicit the speedy decision of the Pope, concerning the restitution of the Marquisate of Saluces, warmly to prosecute that affair.

The cause being reported to the consistory, the Pope commissioned some Prelates to judge it in France, according to the rights of that crown, which never suffers its French subjects to appear, for affairs of that kind, before any tribunal beyond the Alps, as it would be almost impossible to send thither either the witnesses or the necessary proofs. Those Prelates were the Cardinal Joyeuse, the Pope's Nuncio, and the Archbishop of Arles, who having questioned both Parties, examined the proofs adduced on each side, and seen the petition of the three states of the kingdom, pronounced the marriage void, and told them they were at full liberty to marry whenever they thought proper.

Queen Marguerite, who for several years before, had left the King, and, after divers adventures, had voluntarily shut herself up in the strong castle of Usson in Auvergne, was allowed to come to Paris, got money to pay

her debts, besides considerable pensions, the Dutchy of Valois, and some other lands during her life, with leave to bear always the title of Queen. She lived more than fifteen years after her divorce, and built a palace near Pré-aux-Clercs, which has been since sold to pay her debts, and demolished for the purpose of building other houses. She was very fond of good musicians, because she had a delicate ear; and of learned, and eloquent men, because she was herself possessed of a large share of wit, and was extremely agreeable in conversation. She was withal liberal even to prodigality, fond of pomp and magnificence, but did not know what it was to pay her debts; » which, « in a Prince, is the greatest of all faults, as « there is nothing so contrary to justice, of « which he ought to be both the protector and « the model ».

The marriage being thus dissolved, Bellievre and Villeroi, fearing the King would engage in new love-intrigues, and be caught in the snares, that were laid for him by the finest women of his court, prevailed upon him by many powerful arguments of state, to marry Mary of Medicis. She was daughter to Francis great Duke of

Toscany, who dying in the year 1588, without any male issue, was succeeded by his brother Ferdinand, who was consequently Mary's uncle, and, at that time, in possession of the Dutchy.

Cardinal d'Ossat, and Sillery acquainted the Grand Duke Ferdinand, her uncle, with the King's intention, and Alincour, Villeroy's son, whom he had sent to thank the Pope for his kind and speedy justice in the aforesaid dissolution of his marriage, had orders to tell him that, the King having cast his eyes on the daughters of all the sovereign Princes in Europe, had found none so much to his liking as the Princess Mary of Medicis. The affair was managed with so much skill and address by those, who were charged with it, that, in a short time, every thing was settled. The marriage-contract was signed by his Ambassadors, at Florence, the fourth of April 1600, and Alincour, in seven days time, brought him the news of it to Fontainebleau, where he was then assisting at the famous conference or dispute betwixt James-David du Perron, Bishop of Evreux, and Philip du Plessis-Mornay, in which truth triumphed over error.

While this marriage treaty was going on at Florence, the King whose heart could not long preserve its liberty, was again caught in the net of beauty.

It may be necessary to inform the reader, that Mary Touchet, formerly mistress to Charles the ninth, by whom she had the Count of Auvergne, had been married to the Lord of Entragues, by whom she had many children, and amongst the rest, a beautiful girl, named Henrietta, who was consequently uterine sister of the Count of Auvergne. This Count was then about thirty years of age, and his sister about eighteen.

« It is a fact too well known that the depravity of courts, and the corruption of Princes themselves are entirely owing to the base and criminal complaisance of flatterers. It is they who sugar o'er the poison, who embolden their master to do ill, by inuring them to a want of shame, who familiarize them with vice, who make it their study to furnish them with opportunities of indulging it, and who, by thus tempting them to sin, act, as it were, the Devil's part. It is impossible to purge courts of those pests; in spite of all that one

« can do, they insinuate themselves into the
« palaces of the great; make themselves agree-
« able by inventing new diversions, engage their
« attention by flattering praises, comical sto-
« ries, and pleasant lies, and then impercep-
« tibly convey their poison into their hearts,
« and corrupt even innocence itself ».

Our Henry, as great a Prince as he was, had some of those folks about him, who knowing his weakness for the sex, instead of strengthening and restraining him like true friends, did all they could to drive him headlong, as I may say, into it, and made it the instrument of their fortunes. It was they, who made such a panegiric of the charms, the graces, the wit, the facetious and agreeable conversation of Miss d'Entragues, that they kindled in his breast a burning desire of seeing and loving her. They could not do him a worse office. She was, indeed, extremely beautiful, but her wit and cunning were not inferior to her charms. Her denials, and her modesty served only to add new fuel to the King's passion. Tho' he was by no means prodigal, he sent her a hundred thousand crowns all at once, which she accepted, and shewed, on her

side , great love and affection for him ; but she managed matters so artfully , that her father and mother were always in the way , and observed her so closely , that he could get no opportunity of speaking to her as he wished.

Whereupon she gave him to understand that she was extremely sorry it was not in her power to keep her promise to him ; that it was necessary to have her father and mother's consent , which she would do herutmost to get. At length , after repeated procrastinations and delays , she told him , they could not be brought to so delicate a point , unless his Majesty , to secure their conscience in the eyes of God , and their honor in those of the world , consented to give her a written promise of marriage ; that her intention was not to avail herself of it , and tho' it were , no Official would dare to cite a Prince before him , who had the command of fifty thousand men ; that it was only because those honest folks would have it so , and that he should not hesitate to humour them , since there was only question of giving a bit of paper in exchange for the most precious thing she had in the world ; in fine she so effectually turned his head for him , that he gave her a

promise, signed with his own hand, that he would marry her within a year, if in that time she brought him a son.

Sully in his memoirs gives an account of that whole intrigue. He says that the King, having taken him alone into the first gallery of Fontainebleau, shewed him this promise written with his own hand, and asked him his advice about it; that instead of giving him any formal answer, he tore it in two, that the King stood quite amazed, and asked him in a passion: *What! I believe you are mad!* and that he answered; *very true, Sir, I am mad, and I wish to heaven I was the only mad-man in France.* That the King, on leaving the gallery, went into his closet, and called for pen and ink, to write, as he believes, a second one. Be that as it will, that promise was productive of great trouble afterwards; for the young lady thought to avail herself of it, as we shall see hereafter.

While the King was prosecuting the dissolution of his marriage at Rome, he was likewise solliciting the Pope to decide the dispute about the restitution of the Marquisate of Saluces, which had been referred to his judgment by the treaty of Vervin.

The better to understand this, it will be necessary to know that this Marquisate was a fief depending on Dauphiny, which Francis the first seized on by right of reversion, in default of male issue in the succession of the Lords who held it. Now, in 1588, during the meeting of the states of Blois, the Duke of Savoy, being informed that the league was getting the upperhand in France, and that, in all probability, that kingdom would be dismembered, possessed himself of that Marquisate, without any provocation whatsoever, cloaking his usurpation with the specious pretext of preventing Lesdiguières from seizing upon it, and thereby establishing Protestantism in the midst of his dominions.

Seven years after, viz. in 1595 the King being gone to Lyons after the battle of Fontaine-Françoise, the Duke, who foresaw that he would insist on getting back the Marquisate, made him some proposals of accommodation. The King offered to give it to one of his sons, to hold it by fealty and homage, with some other conditions; but the Duke wanted it without any dependancy, and so the negotiation was broken off.

Our Ambassadors in treating about the general peace at Vervin, failed not warmly to insist on the restitution of this fief. Those of the Duke, who assisted there, alledged in favor of their master that it belonged to him, as being dependant on Savoy, and that he had many essential deeds in his possession, which proved this dependency, and which it was absolutely necessary to see, before the affair could be decided with any propriety. At last, both parties produced their titles. Those of France were grounded on a peaceable possession of more than sixty years, which was more than sufficient to acquire a right of prescription. The year being out, the Pope desired a delay of two months to give his arbitrage, and that, in the meanwhile, the Marquisate should be put in sequestration into his hands. The King willingly consented to it; but the Duke suspected the Pope had a mind to have it for one of his nephews, and having given him some hints of his suspicion by his Ambassador, his Holiness refused to have any thing more to do either with the trust or arbitration.

The Duke thought that all he had to do was to gain time and that the French would either

grow tired of prosecuting the affair, or else some new event of greater consequence would intervene, and divert the King's thoughts elsewhere. Besides, as there were still some atrabilary people, who could not be brought to believe that the King was not a stanch Huguenot in his heart, and as he had some very dangerous and hidden enemies, who were continually forming conspiracies against his life, he imagined that one of them might perhaps succeed at last. In fact, there were three of them discovered, that very year, one of which made a great deal of noise: it was that of a woman, who offered the Count of Soissons to poison him; but the Count informed against her, and she was burnt alive at the Grève.

In order, therefore, to gain time, he resolved to come to France, depending so much on his own wit and cleverness, that he was sure the King would make him a present of the Marquisate, or at least he intended to make such proposals, and make use of so many artifices, that it would be more than a year before it would be possible to discover them. He said his Ambassador had written to him, that he had heard the King say, that if they were

together, they would soon adjust matters amicably, and that it was on the strength of that kind word, he had undertaken the journey: but many people suspected, and not without reason, that he came to France with no other view than to bribe some persons, who were of the King's Council, to sound the people, to observe and blow the flames of discontent, to sow the seeds of corruption and division amongst them, and to renew the intelligence he might have at court. Others imagined that he was discontent with Spain, because Philip II had given the low countries as a portion to his youngest daughter, and had left his eldest one, who was married to the Duke, nothing but a crucifix, and an image of our Lady. Besides he had in fact received some cause of displeasure from the Spanish ministers, and he got the report spread, whether true or false, I know not, that he had undertaken this journey, without communicating a word of it to Philip the third, his brother in law. In fine, every one judged of it according to his fancy; perhaps not one guessed rightly the secret of his thoughts, as no Prince ever covered them with a thicker and more impenetrable cloud than he. Hence

he was said to have a heart as covered with mountains, as his country, alluding to the bunch on his back, and the mountains of Savoy.

He resolved to go with a retinue that shewed his quality and power. He was therefore attended by twelve hundred horse, but all his Officers were in mourning for the death of his wife, which many of his servants looked upon as a bad omen. The King, who wished to receive him suitably to his dignity, ordered all the cities and Governors to shew him the same honors as they would to himself.

He came down to Lyons by the river Rhone, and was received there by la Guiche, Governor of that city; but the chapter of S. John did not admit him to be a Canon and Count of this Church, because he was no longer in possession of the County of Villars, which formerly entitled the Counts of Savoy to that privilege; add to this that he did not chuse to lose time there in proving his nobility, which however is absolutely necessary, and never dispensed with by that chapter but in favor of our Kings.

From Lyons he came, attended by twenty horse, to Fontainebleau where the King was.

The better to gain his Majesty's confidence ; he began by bitterly complaining of the Spaniards, and by disclosing or pretending to disclose his most secret thoughts to him, and a project he had formed of driving them out of Italy. He told him his friends, his means, and the intelligence he had procured for that purpose ; he wanted to make him believe that he unbosomed himself to him, that he was all French, and that he wished above all things to espouse without any reserve the interests of France. The King listened to him with great attention, and thanked him for his good will ; but added he : *I think we had better first settle the affairs that are between us, and then we will speak about the rest.* Three days after he carried him with him to Paris, where they were fully to discuss the subject of his journey.

In the beginning of that year the secular Jubilee was celebrated at Rome, where four and twenty thousand French were come, partly from devotion, and partly from curiosity ; amongst whom were a good many Huguenots, who went to see that grand ceremony. This they were at full liberty to do ; for during the year of the grand Jubilee, the inquisition ceases

at Rome, besides it is not so rigorous there as in Spain. The Duke of Bar was there incognito: he went to Rome to get the dispensation for his marriage, and the Pope's absolution. The latter he obtained after the manner mentioned in Cardinal d'Ossat's letters; but, notwithstanding all his submission, he could not prevail on the Pope to grant him the dispensation till three years after, and even then, it did not arrive till some days after the death of his wife Catherine.

The King and the Duke of Savoy lived together on terms of the closest intimacy and friendship, and seemed as if they were both animated by one and the same heart. French courtesy and politeness obliged the King to shew the Duke every civility in his power, and the desire the Duke had of obtaining the Marquisate, made him extremely complaisant, and induced him to do every thing that could make him agreeable to so great a King. The court of France owned they never saw a more accomplished courtier, the ladies a more agreeable gallant, and the King's Officers a more generous Prince. He knew how to conduct himself in such a manner, that he appeared neither the

King's equal nor his servant; and if he thought proper to appear his inferior in grandeur, he endeavoured to be his superior in generosity and liberality.

He gave with a profuse hand, even to the principal persons at court, and the King, in return, made him most magnificent presents. He not only feasted the Duke himself, but he had him feasted by the principal Lords of his court. He every day contrived some new diversion for him: amongst other things, he was desirous of letting him see his Parliament, which our Kings have always shewn to foreign Princes, as an epitome of their greatness, and the place where their Majesty shines with greatest splendor. They seated themselves in the lobby of the Grand Chamber, where they were delighted with the pleading of a very singular cause, which had been purposely chosen for them to hear, and which was judged by Achilles de Harlay, the first President, a man of so much gravity and eloquence, that every thing he spoke, seemed to proceed from the mouth of justice herself.

But notwithstanding all the King's civilities to the Duke, he never lost sight of his Marqui-

sate of Saluces. The Duke turned the affair a thousand different ways : sometimes he offered to hold it of the crown by fealty and homage ; sometimes he proposed to him great designs on the Milanese , and on the Empire , and at other times he brought on the carpet a plan of a powerful league to drive the Spaniards out of Italy.

But the King was too clear-sighted not to see the snare that was laid for him. He answered that he had no ambition to conquer what belonged to others ; that he only wished to get back his own ; that he did not chuse to speak to the Duke about that affair , but would leave it to be settled by their respective councils. In fact , commissaries were named on both sides to confer about it ; but those of the King insisting on restitution , and those of the Duke endeavouring to elude it , nothing was concluded.

The Duke , however , did not lose courage. He depended on some secret intelligence which he had formed with some grandees of the court , and particularly the Duke of Biron. It is the general opinion that he began at that time to bribe that nobleman , through the means of

one Laffin, a Gentleman of Burgundy, of the house of Beauvais la Nocle, but one of the most treacherous villains that it was possible to find in all France. He made it his business to carry the messages backwards and forwards from one to the other. The King was not ignorant of his real character, and knowing that he was very intimate with Biron, he was so good as to tell the Marshal more than once: *do not suffer that man to come near you; he is a pest, and will ruin you.*

The Duke knew that Biron had an affection for the King, who had raised him to the highest dignities in the kingdom, and who still honoured him with his favor. It was, therefore, necessary to begin by extinguishing that affection in his breast, in order to fit him out for his purpose.

Biron was undoubtedly brave and valiant to the highest degree; but so infatuated with his own courage, that he could not bear any body else should dispute the prize with him in that respect. Having nothing more to do since the peace of Vervin, he was eternally boasting of his exploits, and grew so intoxicated with his own praises, that, according to him, it was

he that had done all, the King owed him his crown, and could refuse him nothing, in short he imagined he should govern him as he thought proper. These rodомontados were by no means pleasing to Henry. He was offended at his subjects daring to rival him in valor, but much more at his being so presumptuous as to think of governing him, who had ten times the Marshal's sense and talents.

« It is certainly a noble ambition, and not
 « only becoming, but even absolutely neces-
 « sary for a Prince to think that he can, in no
 « wise, be excelled by any of his subjects. When
 « he has not that good opinion of himself he
 « never fails to let himself be led by him, whom
 « he looks upon as wiser than himself, and
 « thereby falls into immediate captivity. He
 « ought, therefore, always to deem himself
 « more capable of governing his kingdom than
 « any body else, supposing even he should be
 « mistaken; but that is impossible, since God
 « has destined him for that end, and his sub-
 « jects are always ready to receive the orders
 « that issue from his sacred mouth».

Henry had, therefore, taken a dislike to Marshal Biron, on account of his vanity;

insomuch that the Duke of Savoy praising one day the exploits and great services of the two Biron, the father and son, the King answered, « it was true they had served him well, but « that he had the greatest difficulty imaginable « to moderate the drunkenness of the father, « and restrain the spurts and whims of the « son ». The Duke treasured up these words in his memory, and had them carried to Biron by Laffin. The Marshal wounded in the most sensible part, burst, on that occasion, into a thousand extravagancies, and not only threw off the respect, but likewise the remaining affection he had for the King. It is thought that, from that time out, he was brooding over a thousand bad designs, and that he promised to enter into a league, which the Duke of Savoy was to form with the King of Spain, on condition the former gave him his daughter in marriage, and assisted him in making himself Duke of Burgundy.

The Duke of Savoy had been more than two months at the court of France, endeavouring to make the best of a bad bargain, as they say, but not knowing either how to get out of this affair without shame, or how to

remain there any longer without any prospect of success. The King, therefore, not to give him room to say he had been treated with the utmost rigor, sent him word that, if he could not give back the Marquisate, without losing considerably by it, he would be satisfied to take Bresse in exchange. This condition seemed no less hard to the Duke than the restitution of the Marquisate; however, to have some pretext of quitting France with honor, he apparently acceded to the proposal; and some articles were then drawn up, which he did not seem to disapprove; but he demanded time to reflect upon an affair of so much importance, and to advise with the Grandees of his state about it. A delay of three whole months was, accordingly, granted him for that purpose.

A few day after he took his leave of the King, who conducted him as far as the bridge of Charenton, and gave orders to the Baron of Lux, and to Praslin to accompany him to the frontiers. He went back by Champaign and Burgundy, thence into Bresse, and arrived, to his great joy, at Bourg, having been under an apprehension of being arrested in France. The King, it is true, had been advised to detain

him, till he had restored the Marquisate; but he was very much offended at the proposal, and asked in an angry tone: *if they had a mind to dishonor him. He would rather lose his crown than fall under the least suspicion of breaking his word even to his greatest enemy.*

The three months were expired, and the Duke had not as yet fulfilled his promise, which very much vexed the King, who told him he insisted on his resolving upon either alternative. The Duke renews his promise that he will satisfy him, but puts it off from day to day. In the mean while, he informs the Spanish council of the danger he is in, and that the loss of the Marquisate would put it out of his power to serve the Spaniards; that it would open a door for the French to enter Italy, and that, after having laid waste his dominions, they would fall upon the Milanese. The Spanish council was well aware of the importance of these reasons; but as they are very slow in their operations, they were a long time without coming to any resolution. At last Count Fuentes, Governor of the Milanese, received orders, two months too late, to give powerful assistance to the Duke. With this view he entered the

Milanese, where, with two millions, which he had in readiness, he began to make great preparations.

After the Duke had, by various artifices, protracted the negotiation near two months more, the King grew tired of all those delays, and prepared to tie this Proteus, who was continually putting on some new shape or other, and force him to give a positive answer. With this view, he advanced as far as Lyons. The Duke being informed of his approach, had recourse to other tricks. He sent him three Ambassadors, who jointly proposed an Act declaring that their master was ready to fulfil the treaty made at Paris, and that he promised to restore the Marquisate; but one of the three, who was in the secret, refused to sign the articles that were drawn up on that occasion, till the Duke had previously shewn them to his Council and signed them. By this means, he got a delay of seven or eight days more; but the King, who was resolved to run him down, pursued him so closely, and put him so hard to it, that it was impossible for him to escape; so that he was forced to give a positive answer, and promised to restore the Marquisate before the sixteenth of August.

Whereupon the King ordered le Bourg-l'Épinasse, an old Colonel of foot, to go with some Swiss troops and take possession of the Marquisate. On his approach the Duke pulled off the mask, and plainly said he preferred war to the conditions which had been proposed to him. The King foresaw he would come to that at last, and was, therefore obliged to declare war against him the eleventh of August, but with these express terms, that it was only for the Marquisate, and without infringing the treaty of Vervin which he wished inviolably to observe.

At the same time he acquainted the neighbouring Princes with this rupture, and with the reasons that occasioned it. « This great
« Prince was not ignorant that, amongst Chris-
« tians, the violation of peace is extremely
« odious, and that the public tranquillity ought
« never to be disturbed without the strongest
« and justest motives ».

He was then at Grenoble, and had, to begin the war, but three or four companies of ordinance. Some body proposed to him to order the Regiment of Guards to march; but he answered that he would not remove it from

his person; that it was the tenth legion, which never fought without Cæsar. In a short time, however, the French Nobility, with numbers of adventurers flocked to him from all quarters as if they were going to feasts and balls.

Marshal Biron, tho' already discontent with the King, collected some forces, and broke in, in many places, upon Bresse. Du Terrail blew up the town of Bourg with petards; but the citadel held out better, and was almost the only difficulty that was met with during the course of that war. Crequy, on his entrance into Savoy, took the town of Montmelian by storm at midnight; but not the castle.

The Pope alarmed by the first sparks of this conflagration and fearing it would set all Italy on fire, immediately set about quenching it. He dispatched a Prelate, who bore the title of Patriarch of Constantinople, to the King, to represent to him the inconveniencies that might attend that rupture, and to conjure him in the name of heaven to go no farther. The King assured him it was by no means his intention to disturb the peace of Italy; that he was a just and Christian Prince; that he was perfectly satisfied with the fine kingdom God had given

him, but that he wished to get back what belonged to his crown; that if he had any other design he would have made greater preparations.

A few days after he set out in person, and entered Savoy. His presence so stunned the city of Chamberry, that he forced the garrison to a speedy capitulation. He made himself master of the avenues of the Tarentese and Morienne, by taking in two or three days the castle of Conflans, and that of Charbonniere both which till that time had been thought impregnable.

The Duke of Savoy did not stir all that time; and those losses affected him so little, that he was hunting and dancing while Henry was stripping him of his provinces. He seemed to be in no wise concerned in the matter, and to be only a looker on. His subjects in like manner were but little affected by the progress of the King's arms, and only said that, if he took some places in Savoy, the Duke would take many others in France. It was impossible to guess the cause of so great a security. Some thought the Duke relied on I know not what predictions of astrologers, who told him, that,

before three months would be over, there would be no King in France, which was very true, the King being at that time victorious in the heart of Savoy. Others were of opinion that the Duke depended on his intelligence with Marshal Biron, whose fidelity he had shaken by his artifices when he was in France, and whose affection had been entirely alienated from the King, since this war, on account of some recent mortifications, which he had received from his Majesty; for the King did not shew the same confidence in him, nor treat him with the same openness as before, and he committed the principal direction of that conquest to Lesdiguieres, who, it is true, was much better acquainted with the country, and with the manner of making war in those mountains, than the Marshal. This preference was a mortal blow to that proud and haughty spirit, who thought that nothing could or ought to be done without him. Besides the King refused to make him governor of the citadel of Bourg, which entirely put him beside himself. From that time out his thoughts were wholly employed in extravagant and criminal designs. And he began, it is said, to treat with the Duke of

Savoy about a league for rekindling the flames of a civil war in France. As the particulars of this treaty have never been well known, it is impossible to acquaint the reader therewith.

The Duke of Savoy thought that the fortress of Montmelian in Savoy, and that of Bourg in Bresse were impregnable, and depended on them for the security of his country. He was very much surprised to hear that the Marquis of Brandis, Governor of the former, had capitulated to surrender it within a certain time. Whereupon he took the field, and did all he could to come to his assistance. With that view, he had recourse to the Spaniards; but Count Fuentes refused him some troops on that occasion, so that, the term of the capitulation being expired, he lost Montmelian to the great astonishment of his subjects, and the eternal dishonor of Brandis. A few weeks after, he also lost the citadel of Bourg, but not till the brave Governor thereof had been reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions and ammunition.

The King having advanced towards Geneva, subdued the country of Chablais and Faussigny. The inhabitants of Geneva took and demolished

the fort of S. Catherine , which the Savoyards had built on purpose to keep them under. After that conquest, the King was desirous of seeing Geneva , that famous bulwark of the Protestant Religion. Theodorus de Bese , the oldest, as well as the most learned of all the Huguenot ministers harangued him in a few words. Marshal Biron, having examined the town, which the inhabitants were fortifying, for forty years before, with great care, and at a vast expence, whether it was that he might be thought a great Officer, or to shew his zeal for the Catholic Religion, boasted that he would take it in twenty days. The King was not at all pleased at that, because France had taken it under its protection ever since the reign of Francis the first, and had bound itself to defend it against the Duke of Savoy, who claimed a right to the Lordship thereof.

In the mean while the Pope did all in his power to extinguish the flames of that war, and had, with that view, dispatched to the King and to the Duke his nephew Cardinal Aldobrandin, who was incessantly at work to bring about a peace. What embarrassed him most was, to find ties strong and sure enough

to bind the Duke of Savoy; for those of his word and promises, were so uncertain and slippery, that there was no confiding in them.

At the same time the King, who, amidst all the cares and troubles of war, had never lost sight of his marriage, embarked on the Rhone, and came down to Lyons, where the Queen, his new spouse, was arrived, and waited for him.

The Legate still went on with the treaty of peace; and came for that purpose to Lyons, where he made his entrance, fifteen days after the Queen. He was followed thither by the Duke of Savoy's Ambassadors; but their credentials were couched in such terms, that the Duke could disown them. However, when they saw the citadel of Bourg reduced to the last extremity, they earnestly solicited the Legate to resume the treaty, which he refused to do, till they had given him under their hand that they had prayed him to renew it for the good of their master.

1601 The articles having been drawn up, they were signed on both sides, and peace was proclaimed at Lyons the 17th of January 1601. By this treaty the Duke ceded to the King, and

to all the Kings of France his successors, the territories and Lordships of Bresse, Bugey, and Veromey, and in general all he possessed along the banks of the Rhone on this side of Geneva; as also the Bailiwick and Barony of Gex, and all that, in exchange for the Marquisate of Saluces, which the King entirely made over to him and his posterity. It was likewise stipulated that the King should restore to the Duke all the places he had taken from him; reserving, however, to himself the claims he pretended to have on the said Duke as settled by the treaty of Cateau in Cambresis, and that of Vervin.

By this exchange they were both equally gainers. The King for a Marquisate of a very limited extent, far from his dominions, lying within the territories of Savoy, and to preserve which he was obliged to keep strong garrisons in it, that consumed more than double the revenue it produced, acquired a rich and fertile country, more than twenty five leagues in extent, that contained eight hundred Gentlemen, and considerably enlarged the boundaries of his kingdom. The Duke in becoming master of this Marquisate, drew a very troublesome

thorn, as I may say, out of his foot, for, whilst the French were in possession of it, he never durst go out of Turin but with an escort of three or four hundred horse, and he was obliged, for greater security, to keep considerable garrisons in the heart of his country.

The treaty being signed, the King set out from Lyons and went post to Paris, whither the Queen followed him by short stages. Some time after her arrival there, he carried her to see his buildings at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. It
« was one of his pleasures, and a very innocent
« one indeed, and highly becoming a powerful
« Prince, when he has paid off his principal
« debts, and eased his people of the burden of
« taxes; for by raising magnificent edifices, he
« transmits down to posterity noble monu-
« ments of his grandeur and riches; he embel-
« lishes his kingdom, attracts the general admi-
« ration, affords a livelyhood to numbers of
« poor workmen, gives a great idea of his wealth
« to foreigners; works not only for his own use
« and convenience, but for that of his suc-
« cessors; in a word, he encourages Architec-
« ture, Sculpture, and Painting, which in all
« ages have been in the highest esteem amongst
« the politest nations in the world ».

Henry made building the amusement of the leisure hours he could spare from business, but not a serious occupation; « for he had too
 « great, too elevated a soul, to give himself
 « entirely up to things so unimportant in themselves, much less to frivolous amusements.
 « It is true he built, he hunted, he played, but
 « never at the expence of his affairs, and
 « whether in a calm or storm, he always held
 « the helm of his state with a careful and steady
 « hand ».

He took particular care not to fall asleep during the calm, which is often deceitful, well knowing that a good King has as much to do at home during peace, as he has abroad during war.

Besides he was not ignorant that the Spaniards and the Duke of Savoy were hatching evil designs against him. Count Fuentes having raised a powerful army to assist the Duke, was angry that the peace had deprived him of an opportunity of employing it. Some towns he had taken in Picardy during the war between the two crowns, had so puffed him up with vanity, that he thought he would always get the better of the French. At the same time the

King of Spain had equipped a fleet, which was commanded by one Doria, and had, no doubt, some design against Provence, if peace had not been concluded; yet that did not hinder Fuentes from meditating a blow against Marseilles, in order to cause a rupture.

Those, with whom he had got intelligence, offered the King to draw six or seven hundred of his men into the snare, and either to detain them prisoners, or cut them in pieces; but the King did not think it worth his while, for so small an advantage, to give his enemies room to violate the peace, and renew a war, which in the event might prove very dangerous to him, as they were powerfully armed. Moreover, he was afraid there were still, in his kingdom, some sparks concealed under the embers, and that the tumult of war might facilitate attempts against his person; for, to tell the truth, he had more to dread from their knives and daggers, than from their swords. He, therefore, prudently connived at that enterprize, and told the Marseillois: *that he did not know what it was to steal a victory; that ambushes were permitted only in war, and that they should take particular care not to contribute*

in any manner whatsoever towards the violation of the peace, which was what his enemies aimed at.

At length the Spaniards having found it was impossible to surprise this watchful Argus with a thousand eyes, resolved to turn their arms to pious and honourable enterprises. A part of their army went into Hungary, which was then invaded by the Turks. The Duke of Mercœur, who was gone there in quest of nobler fame, than he could acquire in the civil wars of France, commanded the Emperor's army in that country, and gave the Infidels several glorious proofs, that French valor is peculiarly chosen by God to support the Christian Religion. There is no doubt but he would have driven them entirely out of that kingdom, the greater part of which they had invaded, had he not been carried off, the following year, by a spotted fever, which he caught at Nuremberg, as he was going to our Lady of Loretto.

An event happened some time after, wherein the King shewed the Spaniards that he would not suffer the least insult to be offered either to his honor, or the dignity of his crown. Rochepot was his Ambassador in Spain; some

Gentlemen of his retinue, amongst whom was his nephew, happening to go to bathe, a dispute arose between them and some Spaniards, two of whom they killed, and immediately fled to the Ambassador's for protection. The friends of those who had been killed, so stirred up the mob, that they besieged his house, and were going to set fire to it. The Magistrate, in order to prevent the tragic effects of their rage, was forced to commit an injustice, and violate the immunity of the Ambassador's hotel, by going there with a strong guard, and carrying the prisoners to jail. The King of Spain was sorry he had violated the laws of nations, and sent him to ask pardon of the Ambassador; but without releasing the prisoners.

Many were the speeches made, and pamphlets written, on that occasion, on the rights and privileges of Ambassadors. It is true, said some, that an Ambassador has alone the right of supreme Justice in his house; but those of his retinue are liable to the laws of the state they are in, for the faults they commit outside of his hotel, in which case, they are amenable to justice, if they are taken; and tho' this rigor be seldom or ever used, and that the respect

had for the Ambassador's person be extended to all his followers, yet it is a courtesy, and not a right. It is not permitted to go after a criminal into an Ambassador's house, which is a sacred place; but he is not to put it to a bad use, nor make it a shelter for rogues and villains, or protect the subjects of the Prince against Justice and law; for then a complaint is made to the master, who is bound to give immediate satisfaction.

Now the King being offended, as he had a right to be, at the insult offered to France, in the person of his Ambassador, and not thinking the reparation made by the Magistrate sufficient, ordered Rochepot to come back immediately, which he did without taking leave of the King of Spain. At the same time he forbade all intercourse with the Spaniards; and as he foresaw that this commencement of a rupture would probably tempt them to invade Picardy, he set out in all haste from Paris, to visit that frontier, and went to Calais.

The people who were beginning to enjoy the sweets of peace, and to till their lands in fond expectation, shuddered at the idea of a new war, and of being again exposed to the

licentiousness of soldiers; but God took compassion on them. The Pope interfered in the quarrel, and, by his mediation, averted the danger that threatened Europe, and happily settled the affair. The King of Spain restored the prisoners to his Holiness, who delivered them a few days after to the Count of Bethune, the French Ambassador at Rome, and then Henry sent the Count of Barraut Ambassador to Spain.

During the King's stay at Calais, Queen Elizabeth sent Milord Edmont, her principal confident, to visit him. In return for this obliging civility, Henry dispatched to England Marshal Biron, attended by the Count of Auvergne, and some of the first nobility of his court, to assure her of the regret he felt to be so near her, and not have it in his power to see her.

This Queen tried every possible method to make the French sensible of her grandeur and power. Leaning, one day, on Biron's arm, she shewed him several skulls that were fixed on the tower of London, telling him that was the way rebels were punished in England, and adding at the same time the reasons she had for putting to death the Earl of Essex, for

whom she had formerly entertained the tenderest partiality. Those who heard what she said on that occasion called it to mind afterwards, when they saw the Marshal undergo the same fate with the English Earl, and lose his head after having lost his Prince's favor.

Previous to his journey to Calais, Henry had carried the Queen to Orléans in order to gain the Jubilee, and there edified his people by his unfeigned and exemplary piety. It was on this occasion he laid the first stone of the Church of the Holy cross which the Huguenots had quite demolished near forty years before, and gave a considerable sum of money to have it rebuilt.

During that Jubilee all France had earnestly besought heaven to bless the King with a Dauphin to rescue it from the calamities into which it must have fallen, had its King died without male issue. Its prayers were heard: the Queen was happily delivered of a son at Fontainebleau the seven and twentieth of September. He was named Lewis, a name which the great S. Lewis, and the good King Lewis the twelfth, had endeared to France. The King after entreating heaven to pour down its blessings upon him,

gave him his own , put his sword into his hand and prayed God *to do him the favor to make use of it only for his glory , and the protection of his people.* As soon as this happy news was known throughout the kingdom, inconceivable were the rejoicings on that occasion especially at Paris , where Henry was as much beloved as his predecessor had been detested. The King received the compliments of all the Princes of Europe , and Lord Barberini , afterwards Pope Urban the eighth, brought him the blessed swathing-cloths , the usual present of the Pope on these occasions.

Five days before the Queen of Spain was brought to bed of her first child , a girl , who was christened by the name of Anne. The Spaniards were no less rejoiced on this occasion than if the child had been a son, because in that country the daughters inherit the crown. Those among the French who could see farthest into futurity shared in their joy , but from another motive. When they considered that the Princess was of the same age with the Dauphin they flattered themselves that providence had destined them one for the other, and that she was one day to be his consort, which in fact

was the case. France still retains the highest admiration for the exemplary piety and heroic constancy of that great Princess.

To acknowledge the favor God had conferred upon him, by giving him a Dauphin, Henry with redoubled care and attention discharged the duties he owed his people, and endeavoured to improve, as he called it, his son's inheritance.

We shall here mention some of his different establishments and ordinances for that purpose.

The want of money had obliged him, during the siege of Amiens, to create triennial Officers for the administration of his finances; but finding afterwards it was useless thus to leave his purse open to so many people, it being almost impossible that his gold, in handling, should not stick, more or less, to the fingers of each of them, he thought proper to suppress them. The treasurers of the Exchequer, those of the escheats, with some others, were excepted from this reformation.

Rony had taken care to curb the financiers and excisemen in such a manner, that they could no longer devour large morsels as they

used formerly; but that was not sufficient; they had so glutted themselves, before he came to be superintendant, that the King thought it necessary to institute a tribunal called the royal Chamber, which was composed of a certain number of Judges chosen amongst the supreme Courts, and which he ordered to make a diligent search into the malversations of those, who had the handling of the public money. This new Court or Chamber obliged many of them to refund the sums they had imbezzled, however numbers found means of skreening themselves from prosecution; some by dint of friends and relations, others by dint of money, and by bribing those who approached the King's person, especially his mistresses, and even the judges themselves.

« So true it is that gold makes its way every
« where, and that nothing is proof against that
« pernicious metal ». It is not therefore to be
wondered at, « that those people endeavour
« to amass as much as they can of it, since the
« more they possess, the easier it is for them
« to justify themselves ».

I have already said, and repeat it here again,
(for it cannot be too often nor too strongly

insisted on) that the only remedy for this evil ,
 the worst that can afflict a state, and the source
 of all others , is the King's vigilance and care.
 « He ought to keep himself the strings of his own
 « purse , and always have a watchful eye on his
 « coffers. He ought to know exactly what comes
 « into , and what goes out of them , from what
 « sources his revenues flow , to what purposes
 « they are converted, and who have the handling
 « of them ; but, above all, he ought , like Henry
 « the great , to make them give so minute an
 « account of them , that, if they are honest men,
 « they may not be tempted to grow corrupt,
 « and if knaves , they may not have it in their
 « power to exercise their knavery ».

He was told there were two other evils that
 considerably impoverished his kingdom, and
 drained it of all its gold and silver. One was
 the exportation of gold and silver coin into
 foreign countries , as Italy , Germany , and
 Switzerland, where the petty Princes had it
 melted and made into coin of a much baser
 kind. The other was luxury, which likewise
 consumed a vast quantity of those metals in
 embroidery, tinsels, and lace on cloaths, as also
 in gilding ceilings , wainscoats, chimnies and
 divers other articles of furniture.

He issued out two severe edicts against those abuses. By the first, he revived the ancient statutes concerning the exportation of gold and silver, adding thereto the penalty of hanging against the transgressors, and ordering all Governors, to give no passports to the contrary, on pain of being thought abettors of their guilt.

By the second, he forbad all persons whatsoever on pain of large fines, for the first transgression, and of imprisonment for the second, to wear either gold or silver on their cloaths, or make use of them in gildings. This edict was rigorously observed, because nobody was excepted, the King himself having submitted to the law he had enacted, and received very coolly a Prince of the blood, who had gone counter to these his orders.

Immense sums were likewise expended on purchasing silks, by which all our money went into the hands of foreigners. The King seeing this, and considering the elegant use as well as conveniency of these stuffs, bethought himself of introducing that manufacture into France, in order that his own subjects might get what foreigners gained thereby. With this view, he

ordered mulberry-trees to be planted in the provinces where they thrive best, particularly in Tourraine, in order to feed silkworms, and people were taught to prepare the cods, and make use of the labor of those precious caterpillars.

Had care been taken after his death to support that establishment, and extend it to the other provinces, it would have saved France more than five millions a year which it lays out on foreign silks; it would have given bread to a million of people unfit for any other labor, such as old men and women, girls and children; and the people would thereby have been enabled to pay, with greater ease, the taxes and imposts with the profits of their industry.

There was another still greater evil, which parched, as I may say, the bowels of the kingdom, and that was excessive usury. Those who were bad oeconomists, that is to say, the greatest part of the nobility, borrowed money at ten or twelve per cent. This was productive of two very great inconveniencies: the first was, that this exorbitant interest gradually impaired, and in about seven or eight years, sapped the very foundations of the richest and

most ancient families , who are , as I may say , the props and columns of the state : the second was, that merchants finding it much more commodious to lay out their money to such great advantage , and without any risk , entirely gave up commerce , the sources of which being once dried up, there was soon a great scarcity of gold and silver in the kingdom.

These considerations obliged the King to forbid all kinds of usury , on pain not only of confiscation of the sum lent, but likewise of great fines : in consequence of which, the Parliament sent Counsellors into the provinces to make a diligent search after usurers , and reduce interest or mortgaged rents to sixteen per cent , instead of ten or twelve ; because when they had been constituted , money was very scarce ; but now that it was much more common, since the discovery of the Indies, it was but just to moderate the rates of interest. It is for that reason that it has been reduced since to eighteen per cent, and will, perhaps, one day, be brought down to twenty.

It was with the like intent of enriching his subjects , and introducing plenty into his kingdom , that the King received from all quarters

memorials on the means of improving and facilitating commerce, and of fertilizing the most barren soil, to the great benefit of his people. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to render the rivers navigable; he ordered the bridges to be rebuilt, and the high roads paved, well knowing that if care is not taken to keep them in repair, they grow so very bad, that the carriage of goods becomes extremely difficult, and the progress of trade is thereby considerably retarded. Hence a rise in the body politic the same disorders as in the human oeconomy, when there are obstructions, and that the blood and spirits do not circulate freely.

When he passed through a country, he examined every thing with the most scrupulous attention, informed himself of what was wanting or amiss in it, and immediately remedied the evil. Under his favor and protection several manufactures of linnens, tapestry, cloath, lace, hard-ware, with divers others, were established in different parts of the kingdom.

The citizens, after the example of their Prince, repaired their houses, which war had either shattered or destroyed. The Gentlemen laid aside their arms, and, with a switch in

their hand , applied themselves to the improvement of their estates and the increase of their revenues. All ranks of people were attentive to their business ; and it was wonderful to see this kingdom , which , five or six years before , was nothing , as I may say , but a den of snakes , and poisonous animals , a nest of thieves , robbers and vagabonds so thoroughly purged of all those evils by this great Prince , that it seemed a hive of innocent bees vying with each other in giving proofs of their industry , and amassing wax and honey. Idleness was branded with shame , and considered , in a manner , as a crime : and to tell the truth , it is , as the proverb says , the mother of all vices. A man , that will not seriously occupy himself at some thing or other , is both useless to himself , and a nuisance to the public. It was for that reason that the Provost sought after idlers and vagabonds , and sent them on board the King's galleys to serve his Majesty , and make them work , whether they would or no.

1602 There is no lasting happiness here below. Two things happened that year , which would have overturned all France , had not the King prevented it in time.

The chief men of Rouen held a meeting in 1596 to consider of the means of supplying the King with money to continue the war, and pay his debts, and had granted him, as we have said before, an impost of a sou a livre on all provisions entering walled towns. « A state, « says Tacitus, the Prince of political historians, « cannot subsist without troops, nor troops « without money, and money can be had only « by means of taxes, consequently they are ne- « cessary; and it is but just that every one « should contribute to the expences of the state « of which he is a member, and of which he « enjoys both the advantages and protection. « However those taxes ought to be moderate, « and withal proportioned to each man's abi- « lity: every one should bear his part in them: « they ought to be easily gathered; and be des- « tructive of neither commerce nor liberty; the « expence in levying them ought never to « exceed the principal; they ought not to be « laid on the food of the poor, or on any thing « likely to make them odious: in a word, blood « is to be drawn from the veins, but the marrow « is not to be squeezed out of the bones ». Now, the tax of a sou a livre was not in this predica-

ment. It was a very great grievance; for at every town the merchants were searched and their goods unpacked, in order to see what they had, so that neither they, nor travellers had any liberty in the kingdom. Besides, it was exorbitant: if the same goods were sold ten or twelve times, the duty they paid amounted nearly to the prime cost. The levying it was likewise very expensive; for it required so many commissioners, that they could have composed an army; and as they wanted to appear opulent, like their masters, they committed numberless acts of oppression and tyranny on the merchants, whom they enraged almost to madness; and what is very extraordinary is, that there were people in the King's council, who, being either the pensioners or associates of these farmers, not only would not listen to the complaints made against them for malversation, but even supported them in their iniquitous proceedings.

It is a criminal error in the people to think that, when justice is denied them, they are entitled to right themselves, and have recourse to force, when supplications prove ineffectual. That is the source of almost every sedition; and

it was that made all the inhabitants of the other side of the Loire rise up against that new impost, which they opposed with such warmth, that they had pursued the commissioners, and, what was worse, had even killed some of them. There were even cities, with their Magistrates, that took up arms. The farmers, on the other hand, encreased the evil, by their furious threats of getting the rebel towns dismantled, and fortresses built there to keep them under; and I believe they would have been very glad of it, not so much, perhaps out of love for the King's authority, which those people had eternally in their mouths, as for the sake of their own private interest and revenge.

The King being apprized of those commotions, was afraid they were excited by the emissaries of the Duke of Biron's faction, which he had just then discovered. He, therefore, set out from Fontainebleau, a little after Easter, and went to Blois, and from thence to Poitiers. There he graciously listened to the complaints of his people, and remonstrated to the deputies of the towns of Guyenne, *That the taxes he laid were not to enrich his Ministers and favourites, like those of his predecessor; but to support*

the necessary charges of the state. That if his own domain had been sufficient for that purpose, he would not have had recourse to his subjects, but, that since he was the very first himself to contribute towards them, out of his own pocket, it was but just they should do the like on their side. That he wished for nothing so much as to ease his people and make them bless his reign: that the alarm given them of his intention to build fortresses in their towns, was false and seditious: that the only ones he desired were the hearts of his subjects.

By these mild remonstrances he appeased all seditions, without having been obliged to recur to any severity, except that he deposed the consuls of Limoges, and established the *Pancarte*, for so the tax of a sou a livre was called; but that was only for the honor of royal authority; for immediately after, this best and justest of Princes, seeing the extreme grievances it occasioned, repealed, and entirely abolished it.

The second thing, which gave him still more uneasiness, and was capable of overturning the state, had he not remedied it, was the conspiracy of Marshal Biron. We have already

said that Laffin was the principal instrument of the intelligence between the Marshal and the Duke of Savoy. He had carried backwards and forwards all the letters from one to the other, and had had some conferences with the Duke, and the Count of Fuentes, so that he knew the whole intrigue. Now, seeing that the Duke of Savoy's word was not to be depended on, and that Biron seemed to waver, he resolved to disclose the whole affair to the King, whether from an apprehension, that if he delayed too long, his Majesty might come to know it by some other means, or that he hoped to be well rewarded by him for this service, or gain his good opinion, which he had entirely forfeited.

To carry his design into execution, he made use of the Vidam of Chartres, his nephew, to obtain his pardon, from the King, and a full discharge of all past misdemeanours, on condition that he would reveal to his Majesty the accomplices of a conspiracy, and give him the proofs thereof. He kept in his possession several letters, which he had not delivered; but they were neither clear nor circumstantiated enough to amount to a full conviction. To complete it, therefore, here is what he did.

Biron had some memoirs, written with his own hand, in which the conspiracy was set down by articles. Laffin remonstrated to him that it would be imprudent to keep, or communicate them, because his writing was too well known; that it would be much safer to get them transcribed, and burn the original. Biron yielded to his reasons, and gave them to him to copy, which indeed he did, whilst Biron was lying on his bed, and then returned him the transcript, and rumpling the original, he pretended to throw it into the fire; but, by a premeditated piece of dexterity, he burned some other papers, and kept the original. This impardonable negligence cost Biron his life.

After this, the intriguing Laffin, in order to come at some more particular secrets, went to Milan in disguise, and had some conferences with Fuentes: but this cunning and artful Spaniard perceiving he intended to betray them, stood more on the reserve. Laffin, seeing he was distrusted, was apprehensive, it is said, of being made away with, and came back by by-ways. The Duke of Savoy being informed of this by Fuentes, detained prisoner Laffin's secretary, named Renazé, for fear he should go and bear witness against Biron.

In their conferences they had proposed to dismember the kingdom of France : the Duke of Savoy was to have Provence and Dauphiny : Biron Burgundy and Bresse, and the Duke's third daughter in marriage, with fifty thousand crowns portion : some other Lords were to get other provinces, with the title of Peers : those petty sovereignties were to be held of the King of Spain. To carry this scheme into execution, the King of Spain was to send a powerful army into France, and the Duke of Savoy another. The Huguenots were to be stirred up, and several malecontents revived at the same time in different parts ; in a word every method was to be made use of to inflame the minds of the people and keep up the spirit of sedition which the *Pancarte* had raised amongst them.

All these propositions, it was said, were made in the time of the war with Savoy, and Marshal Biron, incensed at the King's refusing to give him the command of the citadel of Bourg, had given ear to them, and was deeply engaged in this detestable conspiracy. He seemed, however, to have repented of it; for he confessed all to the King, one day that he

was walking with him in the cloister of the Franciscan friars at Lyons, and had asked his forgiveness; but he neglected to take a full discharge of his guilt, contrary to the advice of the Duke of Epemon, who was much wiser, and more provident than he. Shortly after, however, he relapsed into his former practices, and still kept up a correspondence with foreigners; moreover he spoke of the King with too much disrespect, undervalued his glorious exploits, extolled his own, and boasted that it was he who had placed the crown on his head, and rescued France from ruin; in a word, all his discourse was nothing but hectoring, rodomontado, and threats.

All this was told to the King, who was likewise informed that Biron exalted the King of Spain's power, praised the wisdom of that Prince's council, his liberality in rewarding the good services that were done him, and his zeal in the cause of the true Religion. The King very prudently answered: that *he knew Biron's heart, he was faithful and affectionate, his tongue was, to be sure, intemperate; but he forgave the freedom of his speech, in favor of his noble achievements.*

What ruined him entirely, and obliged the King to examine his bad designs to the bottom was, in the first place, the great number of his friends, and the affection of the soldiers, which he imprudently made a show of, as if they entirely depended of him, and that he could make them do whatever he thought proper; and, secondly, his particular intimacy with the Count of Auvergne, uterine brother of the Lady d'Entraques, called the marchioness of Verneuil. By the first he inspired the King with jealousy, by endeavouring to make himself feared; and by the latter he became odious to the Queen, who imagined, and not without reason, that he would form a party in the kingdom to support, to her prejudice, that rival, and her children.

The King, who wished to dive into this affair as far as he could, sent for Laffin, who went to Fontainebleau, more than a month before his Majesty set out for Poitou. He had at first some private and afterwards public conferences with the King, to whom he delivered several papers, and amongst the rest the above-mentioned memoirs written with Biron's own hand. Whatever the nature of Laffin's discovery

was, it gave great uneasiness to the King, who, during the whole journey of Poitou, was observed to be extremely thoughtful; and the court, after his example, was buried in silent sad amazement, nor could any body guess the cause thereof.

On his return from Poitiers to Fontainebleau, the King sends for the Duke of Biron, who at first hesitates and, on some shallow pretext, begs to be excused. The King insists, and sends d'Escures, and afterwards the President Jeannin to him, to tell him no harm should be done him; provided, no doubt, he rendered himself worthy of pardon, and did not aggravate his guilt by his pride and impenitence.

Biron was not ignorant that Laffin had been at court, but he reposed more confidence in that man, than he did in himself: besides, Baron Lux, his confident, who happened to be at court at the same time, told him Laffin had discovered nothing which could hurt him. The Baron thought so, because the King, after having had a conference with Laffin had told him with a gay countenance; that *he was very glad he had seen that man; he had removed many suspicions, and distrusts that hung upon his mind.*

However Biron's friends writ to him not to be so fool-hardy as to go to court; that it was much safer to justify himself by proxy, than in person: but, notwithstanding that advice, and the stings of his own conscience, he takes post, and goes to Fontainebleau at a time when the King no longer expected him, and was preparing to go for him.

The histories of that period furnish us with a circumstantial narrative of the imprisonment, trial, and death of the Marshal: I shall, therefore, give only a general account of them.

We cannot sufficiently admire the arrogance, and blindness of that unfortunate man; nor, on the contrary, sufficiently praise the goodness and mercy of the King, who did every thing in his power to get the better of his obstinacy. » To own one's fault is the first sign of repentance«. The King took him aside, and earnestly besought him to reveal the purport of his correspondence with the Duke of Savoy, and the treaties he had made with him, giving him, at the same time, his word that all should be buried in eternal oblivion: he told him he already knew all the particulars thereof; but that he wished to hear them from his own

mouth, adding that how great soever his guilt might be, confessing it would cancel all. Biron, instead of acknowledging it, or, modestly justifying himself to his offended Prince, insolently answered that he was innocent, that he was not come there to justify himself, but to learn the names of his calumniators, and to have them punished, otherwise he would punish them himself. Tho' so haughty an answer was no small aggravation of his guilt, the King, very mildly, desired him coolly to reflect upon it, and that he hoped he would take a better advice.

The same day, after supper, the Count of Soissons still exhorted him in the King's name to confess the truth, and concluded his remonstrance with this sentence of the wise man: *know, Sir, that the King's wrath is the harbinger of death*: but he answered him with still greater haughtiness than he had done his Majesty.

The following morning the King walking in in his gardens conjured him, a second time, to own the conspiracy: but the only answer he could get from him was protestations of innocence, and threats against his accusers.

The King was, thereupon, exceedingly agitated: a thousand different thoughts distracted his breast, not knowing what course to pursue. On one hand, the affection he had entertained for the Marshal and his great services checked his just wrath; and, on the other, the atrocity of his crime, his pride and obstinacy, called aloud for justice, and spurred him on to punish the criminal. Add to this, that there seemed to be but one way of obviating the danger which threatened both his person and his state, and that was to crush the head of a conspiracy, which nobody could well see the bottom of.

In this perplexity of mind he withdrew into his closet, and throwing himself on his knees, he earnestly besought God to inspire him with what was best to be done. This he was wont to do, whenever he had any affair of moment on his hands: God was, on those occasions, his surest Counsellor and help. No sooner was his prayer ended, than he found his mind quite easy and composed, and he was resolved to deliver up Biron into the hands of justice, if his council thought the written proofs he had in his possession were so strong as not to leave the least room for a doubt about his condem-

nation. With this view he chose four members of his council, viz. Bellievre, Villeroy, Rony, and Sillery to whom he shewed the proofs; and they all told him they were more than sufficient.

He resolved, however, to try once more to subdue, if possible, that proud and haughty spirit. Accordingly, he prayed and entreated him, for the last time, to own his crime, assuring him that he should have a full pardon thereof; but all to no purpose: his answer was still the same; he only added that if he knew his calumniators, he would break their heads.

At last the King tired with his rodomontados and obstinacy, left him, saying: *well, we must only strive to come at the truth by some other means. Farewel, Baron Biron.* These words, the last he ever spoke to him, were the lightening that preceded the thunderbolt, which was soon to crush him; the King hereby stripping him of all the honors and eminent dignities, which he had conferred upon him, and shewing that he intended to cast him down much lower than he had ever raised him up.

As Biron was coming out of the Queen's apartment, where he was playing at Prime,

Vitry, Captain of the life-guards, demanded his sword, and arrested him. Praslin, another Captain of the guards, apprehended the Count of Auvergne, and the next day they conducted them, under a strong guard, by water to the Bastille.

Biron had a great many friends, but, on that occasion, as he was accused of having conspired against the King's person, they all stood mute and motionless. Those of his relations who were at court, went and threw themselves at the King's feet, not to demand justice, but to implore his mercy. The Lord of la Force, afterwards Marshal of France, was their spokesman. Had Biron spoke in the beginning with as much humility and submission as they did, he would, most undoubtedly, have obtained his grace, but it was too late, the hour of mercy was past, and justice was to take its course.

The King ordered his Parliament to bring him to a trial, and sent a particular commission to the first President, and to the President Potier Blan-Mesnil, and two counsellors to draw up a breviat of the case, at the request of his attorney general.

The proofs were strong, and Biron's defence

extremely weak. He shewed on that occasion where his life was at stake, that he had more heart than head; for at first he owned his handwriting, which he could have contested, and thereby gained some days, which it would taken up to verify it. Those memoirs had been written during the war of Savoy, and he pretended that the King, when at Lyons, had granted him a full pardon of all his mad pranks.

The King disannulled that pardon by a patent under the great seal, which he sent to the Parliament; but that was useless, because the grace he had granted him was only verbal; besides the Parliament holds it as a maxim, that there are crimes which the King cannot pardon, such as high treason, both human and divine, and such as give shocking scandal, or are highly detrimental to the public. When the witnesses were ordered in to be reexamined and confronted with the criminal, and that Laffin was brought before him, instead of excepting against him, as a man whom a thousand imputations had disqualified from giving evidence, he acknowledged him to be a Gentleman of great honor and probity; but no sooner did he hear his deposition, than he loaded him with the most opprobrious epithets, calling him traitor,

magician and villain: but it was too late: his exceptions were no longer allowable.

He thought Renazé was still prisoner in Piedmont; but he had made his escape a few days before, and was likewise ordered in to be confronted with him. When Biron beheld him, he stood in silent amazement, as if he saw a phantom, and, without making any exception against him, he listened to his deposition, which was, in every respect, agreeable to that of Laffin. Besides what we have already mentioned, they deposed that he had plotted with the Governor of fort S. Catherine, to kill the King when he would go to take a view of that place, whither Biron was to have accompanied him, and walked a little before him, dressed after a certain manner, in order to be known. They also deposed that there was another project of taking away the King by force, either when he would be hunting, or wherever else he would be found ill-guarded, and of carrying him to Spain.

The state of the case having been thus drawn up in the Bastille by four commissaries, he was carried to the Parliament house, by the river, which was lined on each side by the regiment

of Guards. He was there heard at the bar, sitting on a stool, in the presence of all the courts assembled, except the Peers, who did not come, tho' they had been summoned for that purpose.

The next day, which was the last of July, the votes being put, of a hundred and fifty judges, there was not one that did not find him guilty of death. He was declared *attainted and convicted of high treason for his conspiracies against the King's person, his enterprizes against the state, and treaties with its enemies, being Marshal of the army of the said Lord the King. In consequence of which, and to make amends for those crimes, he was stript of all his employments, honors, and dignities, and condemned to have his head cut off at the place de Greve. His estates and goods, moveable and immoveable confiscated to the King's profit; his estate of Biron for ever deprived of the title of peerage, and reunited as well as all the others he had, to the crown's domain.*

The King, under pretence of doing a favor to his relations, but in fact dreading some tumult, as he was much beloved by the soldiers, and had a great number of friends at court, changed

the place of execution, to the Bastille, whither the Chancellor went with the first President, and ordered Biron to be brought to the chapel about ten o' clock in the morning; here they read his sentence to him, which he heard on one knee, and with great patience, except at the words, *conspiracies against the King's person*, and then he got up, and cried out aloud, *that's false, tis a lie, blot that out*. Then the Chancellor, according to the usual form, demanded of him the collar of the order, his Ducal coronet, and the staff of Marshal of France. He had not the two last about him; but he drew the first out of his pocket, and returned it.

It would be useless to relate here his discourses, reproaches, complaints, exclamations, and all the extravagant things he both said and did on that occasion.

About five o' clock in the evening he was carried to the scaffold, where he was beheaded. It was remarked that his head bounded three times, owing to the impetuosity of the spirits that had rushed to that part, and that it gave more blood than the trunk of the body. He was carried to the Church of Saint Paul, where he

was interred without any ceremony, attended by an amazing concourse of people who could not help shedding tears, and lamenting the fate of that brave man, whom his detestable ambition and unbounded pride had brought to so unhappy an end.

This Marshal, we are told, was extremely ignorant, but very fond of consulting Astrologers, diviners and such like impostors. It is even said that Laffin gained his good graces, by making him believe that he had communication with the devil, who had told him he would one day be a sovereign. It is also reported that, in his youth, he went in disguise to see a fortune-teller, who told him that he would become a great Lord, but that he would be beheaded, upon which he flew into such a passion, that he beat the man most outrageously. Another fortune-teller assured him he would become King, if a stroke of a sword from behind did not prevent him; and another that he would die by the hand of a Burgundian, which indeed was the case, the executioner, who cut off his head, being a native of Burgundy.

Many other stories of the like kind are recorded of him, but, to tell the truth, the greater

part of those predictions are , in general , posterior to the events that occasion them , or if they happen to precede them , we must suppose it is merely by chance , and not from any particular science , diviners telling so many lies that it is almost impossible they should not some time or other stumble upon truth.

« It is , therefore , a great mark of wisdom
 « to put no faith in such idle prophecies , which
 « not only have no foundation in truth , but are
 « even offensive to God : besides they expose
 « one to be made a fool of , and led by the nose.
 « Hence it is , that men of sense never give any
 « credit to them , tho' they sometimes make
 « use of that method to persuade weak and
 « simple minds ».

Laffin and Renazé had a full pardon granted them. Hebert , Biron's secretary , was put to the rack ordinary , and extraordinary , but confessed nothing : he was , however , condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Shortly after , the King ordered him to be set at liberty ; but his sufferings , having left a much deeper impression on his mind than his pardon , he went to Spain , where he ended his days.

Baron Lux , Biron's confident , went to court

on the King's promise. He told him all he knew of the conspiracy, and perhaps more; by which means he obtained a full pardon in the form he liked, and was confirmed in his Offices, and in the Government of the castle of Dijon, and of the town of Beaune. The King kept the Government of Burgundy for the Dauphin, and gave the Lieutenancy of it to Bellegarde, who was afterwards Governor in chief of that province.

Montbaraut, a nobleman of Brittany, was sent to the Bastille on some proofs that were against him, but having proved his innocence, he was immediately released.

Baron Fontanelles, a Gentleman of a very good family, was not so fortunate. Having had a hand in the conspiracy, and treated, of himself, with the Spaniards, about delivering up to them a small Island on the coast of Brittany, he was broke on the wheel, in the place de Greve, by an Arrêt of the Council. The King, out of consideration for his family, and in compliment to his relations, ordered that his name should not be mentioned in his sentence; but history could not conceal it.

The Duke of Bouillon being likewise some-

what involved in Biron's affair, thought proper to withdraw to his Viscounty of Turenne. The King being informed that he still continued plotting there, sent him orders to come to court, and clear himself. Instead of going, the Duke writ him a very eloquent letter, in which he represented to him, that, knowing the wickedness and artifice of his enemies, he entreated him to dispense him from going to court, and permit him, for the satisfaction of his Majesty, and of all France, and for that of his own honor, to be tried at the Court of Castres, by virtue of the privilege he had granted to those of the Protestant Religion; he, therefore, begged that his Majesty would graciously please to send his accusers thither, with the imputations that were laid to his charge. Immediately after that, he went to Castres, appeared before the court, and took care to get an act from them setting forth his appearance. The King was, by no means, pleased either with this answer, or with the proceeding of the Judges of Castres, whom he reprimanded for having granted him the act he had demanded. He sent him back word that there was not, as yet, any question of having him tried, and ordered him to come to court directly.

Having been informed by the friends he had at court of the King's resolution, who had sent him the President Caumartin, to make his will known to him, he set out from Castres, went to Orange, and passing thro' Geneva, withdrew to Heidelberg to the Prince Palatine's, » saying « like a wise politician, as he was, that it is a « folly to capitulate with one's King, or go near « him while he is angry ». This affair lay dormant for some years; we shall see in its place how it terminated.

It must be owned that the favor Rony then enjoyed, was the pretext of almost all the discontents and conspiracies of the Grandees. The King, it is true, had raised him to three or four very fine Offices, because he thought he could not sufficiently reward his services, and in that, I think, he was much to be commended, since a good master cannot be too kind to a good and faithful servant. But if he heaped honors and employments on him, those envious and discontented people could not complain, at least, that he either gave him too much power, or gave it to him alone; for it was well known that Rony could not confer the least favor from himself. All passed directly

through the King's hands, and it was to him alone that all suitors were to address themselves. He reserved to himself the privilege of distributing favors and rewards to such as he knew to be worthy of them, that they might be obliged to, and depend on him alone for them. This great Prince knew very well, that. *He who gives all, has all the power; and he who gives nothing, is no more than what he thinks proper who gives all.* He had too great and elevated a spirit to suffer any body else to discharge the noblest function of royal authority. Had his greatest and most intimate favourite dared to shew him even the most distant disrespect, either by his words or actions, or behaved towards him otherwise than he ought to do to his King and master, he would most undoubtedly have fallen into immediate disgrace, and that was, as I have already observed, one of the causes of Biron's ruin. Judge then if he who would suffer no body to be his fellow companion in any thing whatsoever, would permit him to act the sovereign. Judge if he would have been contented that his ministers had barely asked his consent on an affair, or had only spoken to him

carelessly about it, after having resolved upon it themselves. No certainly; his intention was that all determinations should proceed from his own head and free will; that the choice should be his own; that he alone should have the power of raising and pulling down, and be the sole arbiter of his subject's fortune. 'Tis not but he paid attention to the recommendations of the *Grande*s of his state, and to those of his ministers in conferring benefices, employments and offices; but it was always in such a manner, as to make those know to whom he gave them, that it was to him alone they were indebted for them. The following is a striking instance of it.

The Bishopric of Potiers falling vacant, Rony earnestly entreated him to consider on this occasion Peter Fenouillet, who was looked upon as a man of learning, and a great preacher. The King, notwithstanding his recommendation, gave it to the Abbé de la Rochepozay, who, besides the many good qualities he was possessed of, was son to a man who had served him equally well in the double capacity of a military man, and an Ambassador. Shortly after, the Bishopric of Montpellier becoming

vacant, the King, of his own accord, sent for Fenouillet, and told him he gave it to him, but on condition he would be indebted to him alone for it. By this we see that he paid some regard to the recommendation of Rony, but it shews likewise how limited the power of that favourite was, who excited so much jealousy. I call him favourite, because he possessed the most brilliant employments; tho', in fact, he had no sort of preeminence over the other members of the Council: for Villeroy and Jeannin were deemed superior to him for negotiations and foreign affairs: Bellievre and Sillery for every thing that regarded justice, police, and the interior administration of the kingdom. We must not imagine they were in the least dependent of him: there was but one head in the state, and that was the King, who gave motion to all the members, and from whom alone they derived both their spirits and their vigor.

Towards the latter end of that year, the Duke of Savoy, to revenge and indemnify himself for the loss of his Marquisate of Saluces, endeavoured to take Geneva by surprise. The scheme had been formed by Lord d'Albigny, and the Duke, thinking it infallible, had already

crossed the Alps. D'Albigny led two thousand men destined for that purpose within half a league of the city ; but having charged himself with the management of that enterprise, he committed the execution of it to others.

Fortune was pretty favourable to them in the beginning. Upwards of two hundred men scaled the walls, got on the ramparts, and ran, unperceived, all over the city. However, the citizens being waked by the cries of some soldiers of a guard house, who were flying from the enemy, assembled and attacked them. The man who was to have burst open one of the gates with a petard, and let in the enemy, being unfortunately killed, such of them as were within were either all slain, or broke their necks in attempting to leap over the walls. Thirteen were made prisoners, the most part of them Gentlemen, amongst whom was Attignac, who had been second to Don Philippin, natural son of the Duke of Savoy. They surrendered themselves on being assured they would be treated as prisoners of war; but the clamors of the enraged populace, who represented the danger their city had been in from massacres, rapes, a general conflagration, and

a perpetual slavery, forced the council of that small Republic to condemn them, like so many robbers, to the infamous death of the gallows. Their heads, together with fifty four others of those who had been killed, were fixed upon gibbets, and their bodies thrown into the Rhone.

The Duke of Savoy quite ashamed of his ill success, and much more so of the reproaches of all Europe, for having, in the very middle of peace, made so unwarrantable an attempt, repassed the Alps in all haste, leaving his troops near Geneva, and endeavoured to excuse himself to the Swiss, for having tried to surprise that city, which was under their protection, as well as under that of France; alledging he did not do it to disturb the peace of the united Cantons, but to hinder Lesdiguieres from making himself master of it and putting it into the hands of Henry.

The Dukes of Savoy have, for a long time past, laid a claim to the sovereignty of that city, and pretended that the Bishops, who had the title of Counts thereof, and who were for some time Lords of it, held it of them. The Bishops, however, have never acknowledged that claim, but

have always maintained they depended immediately of the empire. The citizens, on the other hand, contend that their city is a free one; that, with regard to temporals, they are subject neither to their Bishops, whom they entirely expelled in the year 1533 when they unfortunately renounced the Catholic Religion, nor to the Duke of Savoy, but to the empire alone, the arms of which are always displayed on their gates. It would be useless to enumerate here the titles on which both parties ground their pretensions: but at that time the city of Geneva had been, for more than sixty years before, in possession of its full liberty, and had entered into a confederacy with the Swiss Cantons. Now, the Swiss were included in the treaty of Vervin, as Allies of France, and of course the city of Geneva was in the same predicament, and the King had often declared so to the Duke of Savoy. That, however, did not prevent him from making the above mentioned attempt, in hopes that, if it succeeded, the King of Spain and the Pope would support him, and that Henry would not for such a trifle violate the peace.

The Genevans enraged at the Duke's

proceeding, began to make war upon him, and boldly entering his territories, took a few paltry little towns from him. They imagined that the King and the Swiss would second their resentment, and that all the German Princes would come to their assistance: but the King was desirous of preserving the peace, and had too much prudence to permit a war in which he could not reconcile Religion with Policy, the honor and interest of France, which was obliged to protect its allies, with the good will of the Pope, whom his duty engaged to extirpate the Huguenots. He, therefore, sent them de Vic to assure them of his protection; but ordered him to let them know that peace was necessary for them, that war would be their ruin, and that they should be as eager to embrace the one, as to avoid the other. As their strength was not in proportion to their resentment, and that they could do nothing without his assistance, they were forced to yield, and come to a treaty with the Duke of Savoy, in which it was specified that they were included in the treaty of Vervin, and that the Duke was not to build any fortress within four leagues of the city.

About that very time it happened that the town of Metz rose up against the Governor of the citadel, named Sobole, who, having been placed therein as Lieutenant by the Duke of Epernon, to whom Henry the third had given the Government in chief, deserted this Duke, for I know not what reason, and taken his patent from the King. He had a brother who assisted him in the care of this Government.

During the last war with Spain, these two brothers had charged the principal inhabitants of Metz, with having conspired to deliver up the town to the Spaniards. Numbers of them had been sent to prison, and some put to the rack, but not one was found guilty. The citizens, therefore, thinking, and not without reason, that the whole of the charge was nothing but calumny, took an utter aversion to the soboles, and drew up several complaints against them, accusing them of numberless cruelties and extortions. The Duke of Epernon, who, no doubt, supported those citizens at court, was sent thither to accommodate matters; but the soboles, who had given him reason to be offended, distrusted him, and refused to admit him into the citadel, or send the garrison out

to meet him. The Duke was so incensed at this, and with reason, that, instead of healing the wound, he made it, worse, and inflamed the minds of the inhabitants to such a pitch, that they barricaded themselves against them. The King, who knew that the smallest spark is capable of producing a great conflagration, was not satisfied with sending la Varenne thither, but set out himself for Metz, and the rather, as he was desirous of seeing that frontier. Sobole resigned him the place, which he gave to Arquien, Lieutenant Colonel of the Guards, with the title of his Lieutenant, to command there in the absence of the Governor, the Duke of Epemon, whose power there was very limited, as long as the King lived.

The King passed the Easter holidays at Metz. During his stay there, he received a petition from the Jesuits humbly requesting to be reestablished. He deferred giving them an answer till his return to Paris, whither he permitted the fathers Ignatius Armand, and Coton, to go, and solicit their suit. This they failed not to do, and father Coton, who was extremely courteous and agreeable in conversation, soon became the favourite of all the

court, and pleased the King to such a degree, that, notwithstanding the advice of some of his council to the contrary, his Majesty granted him an edict, registered in Parliament, whereby he recalled that society, and established it again in France. The pyramid also was thrown down, which had been raised opposite the Parliament house, in the place where Jean Chatel's house stood, and upon which were written many sarcastic epigrams against these fathers. Thus was the dishonor of their banishment gloriously repaired, and what was more, the King kept father Coton with him in quality of his preacher in ordinary, and spiritual director.

The years 1602, and 1603 were further remarkable for three or four important events. The first was that the King on leaving Metz went to Nancy to visit his sister the Dutchess of Bar, who died the year following without issue. The second, that he renewed the alliance with the Swiss, and some months after with the Grisons, notwithstanding all the obstacles, which Count Fuentes, Governor of the Milanese, endeavoured to throw in his way. The third was, that, on his return to Paris, he was

informed of the death of Elizabeth, Queen of England, one of the most illustrious and heroic Princesses that ever reigned, and who governed her state with more skill and vigor than any of her predecessors.

She was the daughter of Henry the eighth, and of that Anne Bullen, for the sake of whom he had divorced his first wife, Catherine of Arragon, aunt to the Emperor Charles the fifth. There was scarce any thing wanting to complete the happiness of her reign, but the Catholic Religion, which she banished from England; and she would have been deservedly surnamed the good, as well as the great, had she not treated with so much inhumanity her own first cousin, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, whom she kept prisoner for eighteen long years and afterwards got beheaded, on account of some conspiracies formed against her person, by the friends and servants of that infortunate Princess.

Elizabeth was succeeded by the son of that very Mary, named James VI, King of Scotland, the next Prince of the blood Royal of England, being grandson of Marguerite, daughter of Henry VII, and sister of Henry VIII, married

to James IV King of Scotland. He had himself called King of Great Britain, in order to reunite under one title the two crowns of England and Scotland, which, in fact, make but one Island, formerly called by the Romans *Magna Britannia*.

The alliance of so powerful a Prince was capable of turning the scale on whatever side it happened to be in: hence it was that the Kings of France and Spain sent to compliment him by magnificent Embassies, each striving to bring him over to himself. It was Rony that went thither on the part of Henry: he obtained, as often as he asked it, a favourable audience, and after some difficulties, the confirmation of the former treaties between France and England. The Spanish Ambassador did not meet with the same facility in his negotiation. The English insisted that the place of treaty should be in England, that the Spaniards should give them leave to trade throughout all their dominions, not even excepting the Indies, that they should have liberty of conscience in Spain; in a word, that they should not be subject to the inquisition, nor be obliged to take off their hats to the sacrament in the streets, but only to turn aside.

France being in a profound peace, as well from without, on account of the renewal of its alliances with the Swiss, and with England, as from within, by the discovery of conspiracies, which had been entirely quelled: the King enjoyed a repose worthy of his labors, and his past sufferings served only to sweeten the cup of pleasure. However, he was not idle: he took as much care and trouble to preserve that heavenly present, peace, as he had before displayed ardor and courage in the prosecution of war.

« He was often heard to say that, were it in
« his power to render the house of Bourbon as
« powerful in Europe, as that of the Ottomans
« is in Asia, and conquer in a moment all his
« neighbouring states, he would not do it at
« the expence of his honor and word, which
« he had engaged to maintain peace».

His usual amusements, during that time, were hunting and building. The French nobility, influenced by his example, could not remain idle. Some passed their time in hunting, whilst others were paying their addresses to the fair sex; some applied themselves to mathematics and polite litterature; some travelled

into foreign countries, and others went to Holland to continue the exercise of war under Prince Maurice; but numbers, who had an itching desire of signalizing their courage, without quitting their houses, grew so punctilious, that, for the least word, or even cross look, outwent their sword. Thus the rage of duelling laid strong hold on the minds of the gentry, and those combats were so common, that almost as many of the nobility fell on those occasions by the hands of each other, as in the field of battle by the hands of the enemy.

To prevent this evil, the King issued out another very severe edict prohibiting duels, on pain, against the aggressors, of forfeiting not only their property, but their lives. This somewhat cooled, at first, the ardor of the most desperate, but as he often pardoned that crime, being too good to refuse it to people who had faithfully served him in time of need, the disease grew, in a short time, almost as bad as it was before.

Amongst the many plans he received from all quarters tending to improve and enrich his state, he was informed there were in many parts of France some pretty good mines of gold,

silver, copper, and lead, which, if properly attended to, might greatly benefit his subjects, and render it unnecessary for them to buy these articles of foreigners: that supposing even the profits arising from them should not be very considerable, they would at least, be attended with one advantage, that of giving employment to numbers of idlers, as also to such criminals as did not deserve death, and who might be condemned to work thereat for the space of some years. He, therefore, issued out an edict renewing the ancient statutes concerning the Officers, directors, and those who worked at the mines. They began by those in the Pyrenees, where it is certain there were formerly, and are still, some, gold and silver mines. Had they carried on the work, it is more than probable they would have derived considerable advantages from it; but from the negligence or incapacity of the directors, or the natural impatience of the French, who are soon discouraged, if a thing does not succeed with them all at once, that enterprise was laid aside.

Another one was formed, from which Paris was to derive considerable advantage, and

that was to join the Loire to the river Seine by the canal of Briare. Rony carried on the work for some time, and laid out near three hundred thousand crowns upon it; but it was left off, I know not why. However, it was resumed and completed in the reign of Lewis XIII.

It was likewise proposed to form a communication between the Ocean and the Mediterranean, by joining together the Garonne, which falls into the former, and the Aude, which goes into the latter, below Narbonne, by canals made by the means of some small rivers that lie between those two large ones. Languedoc offered to contribute towards the execution of that scheme; but some difficulties intervened, which prevented its taking place.

Navigation being restored by the strict orders the King had given to guard the coasts, and severely punish pirates whenever they were taken, our vessels, not content with trading to the usual places, undertook to sail to the new world, of which they had almost forgot the way since the time of Admiral Coligny. A Gentleman of Xaintonge, named du Gas, was commissioned by the King to make a voyage

to Canada, where he established the Beaver-trade.

In the midst of this profound calm, and those occupations so worthy of a King, Henry was very far from being happy. His own wife and mistresses were to him a constant source of trouble and vexation.

We have seen how Lady Entragues had captivated him. He had made her a present of the estate of Verneuil near Senlis, and, for her sake, had erected it into a Marquisate. His affection for her did not in the least abate since his marriage. He carried her along with him in all his journeys, and gave her an apartment at Fontainebleau.

These scandalous proceedings gave great offence to the Queen, who, moreover, felt herself grievously insulted by the haughtiness of the Marchioness, for she never spoke of her but in abusive or contemptuous terms, so far as to say, sometimes, that if justice was done her, she ought to hold her place.

The Queen, on the other hand, was justly incensed against this her rival, and bitterly complained of her to all the world: but that was not the way to gain the King's affection,

and perhaps it would have been better for her wisely to dissemble her discontent, and try by mild and endearing methods to get possession of a heart that so justly belonged to her. The King loved to be caressed, he was fond of complaisance, and of a sweet engaging conversation: tenderness and affection he could not resist. The philter of love is love itself; it was it she ought to have made use of to win the King, and not reproaches, disdain, and a bad reception, which only serve to disgust a husband more and more, and make him prefer the charms of a mistress, who makes it her study to be always agreeable, always complaisant. Instead of this, she was continually provoking him with reproaches and complaints, and when he thought she would solace his cares with the sweets of love, he found she offered him nothing but bitterness and gall.

She had a Florentine waiting woman, named Leonora Galigay, frightfully ugly, but full of wit, who had so artfully insinuated herself into her affections, and gained such an ascendant over her, that she was entirely governed by her. It is said, with what truth I know not, that this woman fearing the Queen her Mistress

would love her less, if she loved the King her husband more, did all she could to alienate her from him, that she might the more easily have her to herself; and the better to compass her end, she married afterwards one of the Queen's domestics, a Florentine named Conchini, who was somewhat better born than herself, being grandson to one Baptist Conchini, who had been secretary to Cosmo Duke of Florence.

The general opinion is that these two persons endeavoured, as long as the King lived, to inflame the Queen's mind against him, and make her always cross and ill-humoured towards him, so that, for the space of seven or eight years, if there was one day of peace and pleasure in this family, there were two of trouble and discontent.

We have already made that remark; but this is a reflexion we cannot too often make, to wit, «that sin is the cause of disorder, and
«that for one small pleasure it affords, it is
«productive of a thousand sorrows and evils
«even in this world». The King, who was but just fifty years old, began, this year, to feel some slight fits of the gout, which were, perhaps, the sad effects of his excessive voluptuousness, as well as of his fatigues.

To return to the Marchioness, the Queen being one day highly offended at some things she had said of her, told her in a threatening tone that she would repress her insolence and curb her mischievous tongue. The Marchioness, upon this, affected an air of grief and trouble, avoided the King, to whom she gave to understand that she entreated him not to speak to her any more, lest the continuation of his favors should prove the ruin both of herself and her children. She hoped that, by thus throwing obstacles in the way of his passion, she would inflame it the more; but finding her scheme had not the desired effect, and that the Queen's anger was raised to such a pitch, that she had, in reality, some reason to dread its consequences, she bethought herself of another expedient. D'Entragues her father asked the King leave to carry her out of the kingdom, to avoid the Queen's revenge. The King granted him his request much more easily than she imagined, at which she was so enraged, that her father and the Count of Auvergne, her uterine brother, treated secretly with the Spanish Ambassador about obtaining a refuge in Spain, and entirely throwing both themselves

and their children on the protection of the King his master.

The Ambassador imagining this affair might be of considerable advantage to his master, and that in time and place he could avail himself of the promise of marriage which the King had given to the Marchioness, granted them, without the least difficulty, what they asked, adding thereto all the fine promises that weak and light minds can be intoxicated with.

The King had given them permission to quit France, but not to take the children with them, because he thought they would go to England to the Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Aubigny, of the house of Stuart, their near relations: but when he was informed they had chosen Spain for their retreat, he resolved to hinder them from carrying their design into execution, and, with that view, to employ mild means at first. He sent, therefore, for the Count of Auvergne, who was at that time at Clermont, so far beloved in the province, that he had every reason to think himself in safety there; but he refused to come till such time as he had obtained, beforehand, a full pardon, sealed in due form, of whatever he might till

then, have done amiss. Tho' it was rendering himself guilty of a new crime thus to capitulate with his King, yet Henry sent it to him; but with this clause, *that he should come to him immediately.*

His fears and suspicions did not permit him to obey that summons, or quit the province, where he took every imaginable precaution to guard against surprise. However, notwithstanding all his cunning, the King got him taken, and by a very gross stratagem. He was Colonel of the French cavalry, and, as such, was desired to review a company of the Duke of Vendome. He went there very well mounted, and took care to keep at such a distance as not to be surrounded: but d'Eurre Lieutenant of the company, and Nerestan coming up to salute him, mounted on little nags to prevent suspicion, but attended by three soldiers, in the garb of footmen, threw him down from his horse, and made him prisoner. He was immediately carried to the Bastille, where he was seized with the utmost terror, when he saw himself lodged in the same room, where his great friend, Marshal Biron, had been.

Shortly after, the King ordered d'Entragues

to be arrested, and sent to prison; and the Marchioness was confined to her house, under the guard of the Captain of the watch. His Majesty to shew, by proofs of the most public nature, the evil intention of the Spaniards, who were seducing his subjects, and, on every occasion, exciting and fomenting conspiracies in his state, gave up the prisoners into the hands of the Parliament, who, after having convicted them of having plotted with the Spaniards, declared, by an arret of the first of February, the Count of Auvergne, Entragues and one Morgan an Englishman, who had been the tool of that fine negotiation, guilty of high-treason, and as such, condemned them to be beheaded; and the Marchioness to be conducted, under a strong guard, to the Abby of the nuns of Beaumont near Tours, there to be shut up, till further informations were made against her, at the request of the attorney general.

The Queen had warmly solicited this arret, thinking its execution would fully gratify her resentment; but the King's goodness outweighed her passion. His affection for the Marchioness was not quite extinguished, nor

could he prevail upon himself to sacrifice her whom he had so tenderly loved. He forbade their sentence to be read to them, and about two months and a half after, viz. the fifteenth of April, he changed by a patent under the great seal, the pain of death pronounced against the Count of Auvergne, and d'Entragues into perpetual imprisonment only, and that against Morgan into perpetual banishment. Shortly after, he again changed the prison of d'Entragues, and only confined him to his own house at Malles-herbes in Beausse. He also permitted the Marchioness to retire to Verneuil, and the Attorney general, having, after seven months inquest, found no proof against her, she was entirely acquitted of the crime that had been laid to her charge.

The Count of Auvergne, as he was the most to be dreaded, so he was more hardly dealt with than the rest, for the King, not only kept him languishing twelve years prisoner in the Bastille, but likewise deprived him of the County of Auvergne, which was his property, and which he enjoyed with the title of it, by virtue of Henry the third's donation of it to him.

Queen Marguerite, who was just returned to court, maintained the illegality of that donation, by reason that in the marriage-contract of Catherine of Medicis their mother, to whom that County belonged, it was specified that her property was entailed; and that that entail extended to the daughters, in default of male issue, consequently that county fell to her after the death of Henry the third, who could not give it to her prejudice.

The Parliament having heard her reasons, and seen her proofs, dissannulled the donation made by Henry the third, and adjudged the county in her favor. In return for this obligation, and several others for which she was indebted to the King, she made over, by a writ of donation, all she possessed, to the Dauphin, reserving only to herself the use and profits thereof during her life.

The Count of Auvergne thus stript of his property remained in the Bastille till the year 1616, that Queen Mary of Medicis, having some occasion for him, had him released and acquitted. She even went so far as to order the arret that condemned him to be torn out from the records of Parliament, lest it should per-

petuate the memory of his crime. «It is thus ;
« that time changes the most inveterate hatred
« into the strongest affection, and the strongest
« affection into the most inveterate hatred ».

In investigating the plot which the father of the Marchioness had formed to deliver up his daughter and her children to the Spaniards, the machinations of the Duke of Bouillon were likewise discovered. He was the only man in the kingdom from whom the King had, henceforward, any thing to fear. He had received, it is true, many and great favors from his Majesty, who not only gave him the staff of Marshal of France, but was also the means of his marrying the heiress of Sedan, for which, it must be owned he served him with distinction in his most urgent occasions : but when he saw he had embraced the Catholic Religion, his affection for him was considerably abated, and partly from zeal for the Protestant cause, partly from ambition, he conceived the mighty project of making himself head and protector of the Huguenot party ; and, under that pretence, of possessing himself of the provinces beyond the Loire. With this view, he contributed very much, it is said, to inflame the mind of Marshal

Biron, and formed a treaty with the Spaniards, whereby they were to supply him with as much money as he should want, but not troops, for fear of exposing him to the hatred of the Protestants.

It was but too obvious, that, since the King's conversion, he had been incessantly striving to foment distrust and discontents in the minds of the Huguenots, and to unite them all together, in order to form them into a body; imagining that body could not possibly do without a head, and that they could chuse no other than him for that purpose. Hence all those meetings, all those particular and general Synods of the Protestants, where there was nothing heard but complaints and murmurings against the King, whom they were eternally teasing with new petitions and requests.

Besides, it was known that this Duke had Emissaries and Agents in Guienne, especially in Limosin, and Quercy, who formed cabals amongst the nobility, distributed money, and received the oaths of those who promised him their services, and had even made some attempts on ten or twelve Catholic towns.

The King thinking it necessary to prevent

the evil from spreading wider, and not knowing how far extended, resolved to go thither himself, and pull it out by the roots. He set out from Fontainebleau in the month of September, having sent on before him John James de Mesmes, Lord of Boissy, who went to Limoges to try the criminals.

This immediately quashed the whole scheme of the conspirators, of whom the most prudent went to meet the King, and throwing themselves at his feet, implored forgiveness; the rest either fled out of the kingdom, or hid themselves. Five or six unfortunate wretches having been taken, were beheaded at Limoges, their heads fixed on the tops of the gates, and their bodies reduced to ashes, which were thrown in the air. Three or four more underwent the same punishment in Perigord. Ten or twelve of the principal people among them were out-lawed and executed in effigy, amongst the rest la Chapelle-Biron, and Giversac of the house of Cugnac: but in all these proceedings there were no written proofs found nor even any formal evidence against the Duke of Bouillon, such was the art and cunning with which he had conducted the whole of that business.

Previous to those executions the King, having made his entry into Limoges, returned to Paris. He wished above all things, that the Duke of Bouillon would acknowledge his fault, and make a submission; because if he did not, he should be under the necessity of forcing him to it, and coercive measures could not fail of offending that numerous body of Protestants, who were all his trusty friends and allies. He, therefore, employed, underhand, every method he could think of, to engage him to have recourse to his clemency, rather than to the intercession of foreigners. The Duke was still more desirous than he was to extricate himself out of that difficulty: but he thought there was no safety for him at court, because Rony, who was not his friend, and who was somewhat jealous of seeing him possess a greater share of power than himself, in the Protestant party, was in great favor with the King; so that, after various negotiations and delays, the King resolved to go to Sedan himself with a powerful army, and take him.

Rony was making the preparations of this expedition with all possible diligence. The King reposed entire confidence in him, and by loading him with honors, was glad to shew the

Huguenots, that if he attacked the Duke of Bouillon, it was not against their Religion his arms were directed, but against the rebellion. With this view, he erected the manor of Sully into a Dutchy conferring peerage, so that we shall, henceforward call him Duke of Sully. He advised the King vigorously to attack the Duke of Bouillon; but Villeroy and the rest were of a contrary opinion: they thought it hazardous to undertake the siege of Sedan, which might prove long, and by that means revive perhaps some factions in other corners of the kingdom, give time to the Spaniards to attack the frontiers of Picardy, afford the Duke of Savoy an opportunity of falling with the forces of the Milanese on Provence then unarmed, and the Huguenots and Protestants of Germany that of coming to the assistance of their friend.

The King foresaw all these inconveniencies: advancing, therefore, as far as Donchery in the absence of Sully, whom he had sent, perhaps on purpose, for some artillery, he treated with the Duke of Bouillon, and received him into favor, on condition he would make a submission to his Majesty, receive him into the town

of Sedan, and give him up the castle, which he was to keep possession of for four years, and put into it whatever garrison he pleased.

Such were the conditions made in public; but by private articles the King promised to remain but a few days in Sedan, and put only fifty men in the castle, who, at the humble request of the Duke, were immediately to evacuate it. All this was faithfully executed on both sides, and without the least distrust on either. The Duke came to Donchery, and there humbly entreated his Majesty to forgive him. The King received him as graciously as if he had never offended him, and five or six days after he entered Sedan, where he remained but three days, and then returned to Paris. The Duke accompanied him as far as Mousson, but went no farther. However, having heard, a few days after, that the Parliament had registered his pardon, in which were likewise included those of his friends, who were condemned at Limoges for non-appearance, he went to court, where he was more honoured and caressed than ever: for «that was the way of this great
« Prince: he was a lion to the proud and re-
« bellious; but he delighted in raising up, with
« unparalleled goodness, those whom he had

« thrown down, when, by their submission they rendered themselves worthy of that favor ». The Duke of Bouillon knew that perfectly well, (for they had lived and made war together for a long time) and accordingly conducted himself, on that occasion, with all the prudence and pliability, which a man of cleverness like him, was capable of.

Notwithstanding the King's goodness and generosity, his reign was disturbed by numberless conspiracies, and acts of treachery. Such was the perfidy of l'Oste, the attempt upon Marseilles by Merarques, and that other on Narbonne and Leucate by the Luquisses.

L'Oste was clerk and God-son to Villeroy, who employed him in decyphering the dispatches. This wretch used to reveal the secret of the King's affairs to some of the members of the Spanish council, who had bribed him with a pension of twelve hundred crowns, which he was promised while he was in that country with the Ambassador Rochepot. His villany being discovered, he fled, and being pursued by the Provost Marshals, he was drowned in the river Marne, near the ferry of Fay. It is easy to imagine Villeroy's feelings on this

occasion, knowing that his fidelity lay exposed to the King's suspicions and the malice of his enemies. He certainly would have had a great deal of trouble to clear himself of that affair, notwithstanding all his innocence, if the King, who saw him in extreme affliction, had not been so kind as to pay him a visit, console him himself, and, by so great an honor, justify him from all the false imputations of his calumniators

Merarques was a Gentleman of Provence, ¹⁶⁰⁵ of a very good family, who, knowing that he was to be *Viguier* of Marseilles the year following, had promised to deliver up the town to the Spaniards during his Magistracy. He was so imprudent and foolish as to disclose his design to a galley-slave at Marseilles, who informed the court of it, in hopes, perhaps, of obtaining his liberty. Whereupon Merarques, who was then at Paris, was so carefully watched, that he was surprised speaking with the secretary of the Spanish Ambassador, and talking so loud, that one could hear almost every word they said. He was immediately searched, and under the folds of his garter was found a memorial containing the plan of his design. He was arrested and beheaded by an arret of the Par-

liament of Paris of the 19th December. His body was quartered, and the quarters tied to stakes before the gates of the city. His head was carried to Marseilles, where it was fixed on a pike on the top of a tower of one of the principal gates. The Ambassador's secretary was likewise arrested, and would have run a great risk, if the King had a mind to carry matters as far as he was advised to do by those who wished for a rupture with Spain.

This event gave occasion to Politicians to talk diversly on the rights of Ambassadors and their attendants. Henry the great himself decided the question as follows. « Ambassadors, « said he, are sacred by the laws of nations; « they themselves violate those laws the very « first, when they form treasonable plots against « the state, or Prince to whom they are sent by « their master; consequently those laws do not « exempt them either from trial or punishment. « Besides, it is not to be presumed that they « are Ambassadors, or representatives of the « sovereign who sends them, when they render « themselves guilty of mean or treasonable acts, « which he would neither do, nor avow. It is, « however, much more generous not to be too « strict on those occasions 'tis enough to have a

« right to punish, without enforcing that right ». Such was his opinion ; and as he always followed the dictates of generosity, he ordered all proceedings to be stopt against the Ambassador's secretary, whom the Judges were going to put to the rack.

In the mean while the Ambassador, thinking to hide his secretary's perfidy by dint of clamor, came to the King loudly complaining of the violation of the laws of nations, and the dignity of Ambassadors, protesting that his master would resent the insult, as became a powerful and offended Prince. The King with great coolness and prudence represented to him what his secretary had done with Merargues ; but the Ambassador not chusing to claim his man, nor approve his action, gave the affair another turn, and complained that the King was the first who had infringed the treaty of Vervin, by assisting the Dutch with men and money. The King replied, that with regard to men, they did not go there by his orders, that there were French in the Arch-Duke's service, as well as in that of Holland ; and as to his money, he was free to lend or give, or make any other use he thought proper of it, and

nobody had a right to call him to an account about it. The Ambassador grew hot upon it, and some high words passed on both sides. At last the King ordered his secretary to be given up to him, as that had been his intention before the Ambassador had spoken a word to him about it.

With regard to the Luquisses, they were two brothers of Genoese extraction, who had agreed with the Governor of Perpignan to put him in possession of Narbonne and Leucate. It is certain they had it not in their power to execute their design, in which there was more villany than danger. However, they were apprehended, and carried to Toulouse, where the Parliament sentenced them both to the gallows.

It seemed that not only the wickedness, but the folly of men conspired at that time against France; for the very day Merargues was executed, a madman made an attempt upon the King's sacred person, rushing in upon him with a dagger in his hand, as his Majesty was passing over the Pont-Neuf on horseback, on his return from the chace. His footmen immediately running up, made the wretch let go his hold,

and would have killed him on the spot, had it not been for the King, who ordered him to be carried to the prison of Fort-l'Eveque. His name was John de l'Isle, a native of Vineux near Senlis. He was immediately examined by the President Jeannin, who never could get any reasonable answer from him, for he was quite out of his senses. He thought himself King of the whole world, and said that Henry IV having usurped France from him, he had a mind to punish him for his temerity. Upon which the King pitying his madness ordered him only to be kept in prison, where he died shortly after.

Those who wished for a war lost no opportunity of inflaming the King's mind with all these conspiracies and attempts of the Spaniards. They remonstrated to him that he had nothing else to expect from his perpetual enemies; that having done all they could to hinder him from coming to the crown, they were still endeavouring to disturb his peace and take away his life; that their snares were more to be dreaded in peace than in war; that, therefore, he ought to break with them, because they would have fewer opportunities of doing him

harm, when they would be no longer in the heart of his kingdom; that it would be more to his advantage to make open war against them, than to unravel all the machinations and intrigues they were forming under the cloak of peace and friendship. Besides, they represented to him the bad situation of affairs in Spain, which having been quite exhausted of money by the wars in the low countries, was forced to have recourse to extraordinary means to get some: but, above all, they did not forget to lay before him the great advantage he had over his adversary, Philip III in personal qualifications and talents, a man being more easily induced to attack an enemy he despises, and whose weakness he is conscious of.

As to Philip III tho' he did not want for a good understanding, and that his father Philip II, a great Politician, had taken care to instruct him in all the parts of knowledge necessary for governing; yet from a certain timidity and diffidence of himself, too common amongst Princes, and besides to avoid trouble and fatigue, he had totally resigned the cares of Government to the Marquis of Denia, whom he soon after made Duke of Lerma. It is impossible to express

how odious this minister rendered himself to the people, and what a contemptible light his master was held in during his ministry. At length Philip opened his eyes: he broke his chains; and he who had rendered himself as it were his master, thought he could do no better to escape the evils that impended over him, than to embrace the Ecclesiastic state and become Cardinal.

« Let us here reflect a little, by the bye, on
« the deplorable state of a sovereign, who, by
« not conducting himself as he ought, neces-
« sarily falls into the contempt and detestation
« of his subjects. The greatest misfortune that
« can befall him, is, no doubt, to be looked
« upon as inferior and subject to another; to
« have his ears shut against the general voice
« of his people, who cry out aloud to him to
« govern them; and to trust to five or six flat-
« terers, who make him believe he is master,
« tho' in reality he does not fulfil one single duty
« of that station, rather than to truth to the
« opinion of his whole kingdom. If he wishes
« to know whether he be really sovereign or
« not, let him consider if it is he who gives em-
« ployments, benefices, pensions, and rewards

« from himself; if the choice of the persons is
« his own; if those in office about him are all
« creatures of his own hand; if, in any affair of
« moment, he has ever once said, *such is my will*,
« if he is always followed and attended by the
« Grandees; if those who have any affairs, who
« look for employments, or favors wait in his
« antichamber; who is the person, in fine, that
« is most respected, and courted with the
« greatest assiduity in his whole kingdom; and
« then he will know for certain who reigns. It
« is not, however, enough that he should know
« that: he ought, in imitation of Philip III, of
« whom we have been just speaking, make an
« effort to recover his authority. It is in that
« chiefly that the courage of a sovereign consists;
« for can he give a better proof of his firmness
« and resolution than by taking possession of
« the rank and power which God has given
« him? The true point of honor of a King is to
« maintain in his person the rights and privi-
« leges of Royalty. The fact is, there is more
« shame and dishonor for a sovereign to let
« himself be led by him, who should be subject
« to his will, than to fly on a day of battle before
« the enemy: the bravest sometimes give way;

« but the courage of a King does not so much
 « consist in fighting as in governing. What avails
 « it to him to conquer his enemies, if he suffers
 « himself to be the slave of his subject, who,
 « under pretence of serving him, throws him
 « and his state into fetters, and dares engross
 « all the honor and advantage of sovereignty
 « by making him believe it is to ease him of the
 « burden ».

That was not case with our Henry: his goodness was extreme, without being either timid or unactive: ever busy and laborious, he turned his understanding and parts to useful purposes. Nothing was above him but God; nothing by his side but justice and clemency, his two most trusty counsellors. The boldest of his ministers trembled if he saw him only frown. All familiarity ceased, and every one observed the profoundest respect when he spoke peremptorily.

Now, this great Prince preserving thus the dignity and lustre of Majesty, it is not to be wondered at that he thought himself superior to Philip III, who at that time suffered himself to be entirely governed: and as he knew his weakness, it was imagined he would be the

more easily prevailed on to make war upon him. Indeed he was well enough inclined that way; and after the many injuries he had received from the Spaniards, his resentment did not want to be roused. However, before he engaged in such an enterprise, he resolved to collect such a quantity of money, artillery, and military stores, put his frontier-towns, in such a posture of defence, establish such good order within his kingdom, make so many friends and allies for himself raise such powerful armies, in a word, take his measures so very exactly, that he could not in the least doubt of success, and that, in striking at that ambitious power, he might be sure of humbling it to the ground.

In the mean while he did not neglect the other means of acquiring fame, nor did he deem it less glorious to be renowned for the wisdom of his councils, than for the force of his arms. By the latter he had subdued his rebellious subjects, and the Spaniards: by the former he became umpire of the greatest disputes of Europe, and acquired a superiority the more noble, as it was bestowed without constraint.

1606 Clement VIII happening to die towards the

end of the year 1603, he resolved to make use of his interest to have one of his friends elected Pope. Cardinal Joyeuse, his Ambassador, and his other agents, managed matters so well, that Alexander of Medicis, called Cardinal of Florence, was elected; but he died seventeen days after, so that all was to begin over again. The King did not chuse to trouble himself any further about the election, and he declared that the only part he took in it was, that he wished they made choice of a good man. The conclave elected afterwards Cardinal Borghese, who took the name of Paul V.

In the beginning of his Pontificate, a great dispute was revived, the first sparks of which had broke out under his predecessors, and which would have set the four corners of Italy, and perhaps all Europe on fire, had not Henry the great taken care to extinguish it. The case was this.

The Republic of Venice had formerly enacted a law or decree prohibiting monks from acquiring in its territories estates above the value of twenty thousand ducats, and ordering all such as possessed any above that sum, to return the overplus to the common wealth, which

would reimburse not only the original price but the improvements made thereon.

Pursuant to this decree, it promulgated another forbidding the founding or building of Churches, convents, and monasteries, without special permission from their Lordships, on pain of banishment, and confiscation of the lands and buildings.

It was certainly the business and duty of the Bishops to put a stop to that prodigious multiplicity of convents; but either from negligence or too great a condescension, they granted as many permissions of that kind as were asked; so that the Republic was forced to take the affair into its own hands, and remedy the evil, since the Prelates did not; otherwise all its cities would have been in a short time nothing else but convents, and its revenues, which ought to defray the charges of the state, and serve for the maintenance of the married, supply the commonwealth with tradesmen, soldiers and husbandmen, would have been entirely eaten up by monks and nuns.

The Republic, therefore, enacted still another law forbidding all Ecclesiastics to make any acquisition whatsoever of immoveable goods without leave from the senate. About the same

time it happened that a certain Abbé and a Canon, accused of heinous crimes, were imprisoned by order of the secular power, which beyond the Alps is looked upon as a most daring attempt, because Ecclesiastics there are in possession of not being amenable to secular justice.

Now, Paul V, on coming to the Pontificate could not, he said, connive at all those encroachments of the Laity on the Clergy, and dispatched at the same time two Briefs to his Nuncio at Venice; one containing the repeal of the decrees made by the senate concerning the acquisition of temporal goods; the other ordering the Abbé and Canon to be delivered up to the Ecclesiastical Court. The Nuncio notified these Briefs to the senate, who resolutely answered that their Republic had an innate authority, which nobody had a right to meddle with, and that they should maintain it against all such as would attempt to invade it. Both parties employed the best pens of the age to assert their rights, and overthrow the defence of their adversaries. Manifestos on manifestos were circulated about everywhere, and treaties full of law-arguments, passages out of holy

writ, quotations from Fathers of the Church and from Councils, and examples drawn from history.

The Pope, however, was extremely offended at that answer, and fulminated a bull of excommunication against the Duke and senate of Venice, if, within four and twenty days, they did not repeal their decrees, and deliver the two prisoners into the Nuncio's hands. Their Lordships paid very little regard to his Bull, and boldly declared his excommunication void and abusive. Not one Ecclesiastic was found in all the territories of the Republic, who would attempt to publish it, or dare to observe the interdict, or stop divine service. The Capuchins and Jesuits were the only people who thought proper to withdraw, after, having asked the senate's permission, which their Lordships gave the Capuchins, with liberty of returning whenever they thought proper, and to the Jesuits, but with orders never to come back again.

Thus stood matters between those two powers highly incensed one against the other. The Spaniards were watching to make the most of those divisions, and underhand threw

oil on the fire, tho' in public they pretended to extinguish it; for, on one hand they stirred up the Venetians, and engaged them to assert their rights; and, on the other, they ordered their Governors of Naples and Milan to assist the Pope with all their forces. Henry, more sincere, as well as more disinterested, embraced this opportunity of establishing his power in Italy by a nobler and more equitable mode of proceeding. He assured the Pope, that, as eldest son of the Church, he would stand up in support of its interest, and, in case of rupture, would go in person with forty thousand men to his assistance; but that he entreated him, before things came to that extremity, to permit him to try all possible means of adjusting matters amicably between them.

He likewise answered the Venetian Ambassador, who demanded his assistance, that he owed it to the Pope in preference to all others; that, therefore, he advised the Republic to give satisfaction to his Holiness, and that it might do it consistently with its honor and its rights, he offered to be the Mediator.

Both parties having accepted his mediation, he dispatched Cardinal Joyeuse to Italy, who,

to make the story short, managed the negotiation with so much skill and address, that he soon made up matters between them. The treaty consisted chiefly of four articles: 1° The senate was to deliver up the two prisoners to the French Ambassador, in order to give them up to his Holiness. 2° Their Lordships were to repeal the manifesto and the declaration they had made against the Apostolical censures. 3° They were to restore the Ecclesiastics to all their possessions. 4° The Pope was to give them absolution, and, in return, their Lordships were to thank him by a solemn Embassy, and assure him of their filial obedience.

The next day Cardinal Joyeuse went to the place appointed by the senate, where, after the doors were shut, he, in the presence of the Duke, of five and twenty Senators, and the French Ambassador, reversed the excommunication, and gave the absolution to their Lordships. All those things happened without the participation of the Spaniards, who nevertheless did all they could to be concerned in them. Thus both parties were reconciled through the mediation of Henry the great.

The affair of the Jesuits was the only obstacle

to the conclusion of the treaty; and not only delayed it for some months, but was even very near breaking it off entirely; because the Pope considering they had been expelled merely on his account, insisted on having them restored both to their houses and goods; and the senate was obstinately determined to hazard all rather than consent thereto. At last his Holiness, persuaded by the eloquence of Cardinal du Perron, who was then at Rome, thought it more prudent to give up that point, than run the risk of setting perhaps all Europe together by the ears. The Jesuits, therefore, remained banished from the territories of Venice; but the present Pope, Alexandre VII interceded for and obtained their restoration.

If this amicable termination of the difference ¹⁶⁴⁸ betwixt the Pope and the Venetians added great lustre to the fame of our Henry, by reviving the influence of France beyond the Alps, where it seemed totally gone, and by considerably weakening that of the Spaniards, who before that period, were all-powerful in Italy: the treaty he procured between the King of Spain and the united states, or provinces, gained him no less honor amongst the Protestants, and the northern nations.

The United Provinces, commonly called Holland, after the name of the most considerable of the seven, which that body is composed of, had some reason to complain of Henry for having made the treaty of Vervin without their consent, and having bound himself down not to give them the least help either directly or indirectly. Notwithstanding all that, he had always assisted them with money, and permitted a great many Gentlemen and volunteers to enter into their service; insomuch that they had several regiments composed entirely of French. The Spaniards, therefore, had apparently some reason to complain that the King infringed the treaty of Vervin; but the reproach was unjust; because they themselves had been the first to break it by a thousand attempts, some of which have been already related.

In the mean time, the King, who was not over prodigal of money, grew tired of laying out such vast sums on the Dutch, and would not at all have been sorry to see them in a situation that exempted them from being so chargeable to him. There was but one way to get rid of them, and that was to bring about a peace between them and the Spaniards. He resolved

therefore to set about it, and made choice of the President Jeannin, a man of great sense, to conduct that negotiation.

Both Parties agreed at first upon a truce of eight months, during which, the states, in order to treat with more honor and safety to themselves, begged of Henry to enter into an offensive and defensive league with them, which he willingly consented to. The following are the principal articles of that league.

He promised faithfully to help and assist them to the utmost of his power, in obtaining for them a good and lasting peace from Spain: that, if he was so happy as to succeed, he would do all he could to enforce the observance of it, and defend them against all such as would attempt to violate it: that accordingly he would furnish them with ten thousand foot, paid and supported at his own expence, and that, as long as they would have occasion for them. The united states on their part, bound themselves down in case he should be attacked in his kingdom, to assist him immediately with five thousand foot at their expence, and left the King his choice of taking this succour either in men, or in ships ready equiped and fitted out for action.

The Spaniards were extremely alarmed at that league. Don Pedro of Toledo, one of the first Lords in Spain, in his way thro' France to the low countries, loudly complained of it to the King; and yet many thought that all his clamouring was meant only to make his Majesty hasten the peace between them and the Dutch, because Spain was heartily tired of carrying on so long, so tedious, and so bloody a war, at so vast an expence, and with so little success.

This Don Pedro had, like all the true Spanish Nobility, a grave and haughty mien, and, when there was question of the honor of his nation, and the power of his King, was proud and magnificent in his words; but, at all other times, exceedingly civil and courteous, humble and respectful on proper occasions, gallant, skilful and witty. Some things passed between the King and him which deserve to be recorded.

His Majesty imagining he was sent to threaten him with war, and knowing the Spaniards had circulated a report that he was quite crippled with the gout, and no longer able to ride on horseback, was resolved to shew him that his

vigor was not diminished. He received him in the great gallery of Fontainebleau, where he made him take twenty or thirty turns with him so fast, that he put him out of breath, and afterwards said : *you see, Sir, I am not sick.*

At that first audience Don Pedro carried his beads in his hand. He represented to the King how much it was the interest of all Catholic Princes in general either to extirpate or convert Heretics, putting him in mind, at the same time, of the great wars his master had carried on with that view. Then shifting the discourse, he told him that his Catholic Majesty was desirous of being more closely allied to him, and of forming marriages between their respective children, provided the King broke off his alliance with the low countries, and granted them no further protection. Henry answered him very candidly that his children were sufficiently well born, to get good matches; that he did not wish for any constrained or conditional friendships. That he could not desert his friends, and that those who would not be of the number, would repent having been his enemies.

Whereupon Don Pedro extolled the grandeur and power of Spain. The King very coolly

told him it was the statue of Nabuchodonosor, which was composed of divers sorts of materials, but the feet of which were of clay. Don Pedro came to reproaches and menaces. The King paid him in his own coin, and told him that if his master went on in his attempts against him, he would carry fire into the very Escorial, and that, if he once mounted his horse, they would soon see him at Madrid. *That may be*, answered the haughty Spaniards, *Francis I was there. That is the very reason*, replied the King, *I will go there to revenge both him, and France, and myself.*

After some high words, the King lowering the tone of his voice, *Don Pedro*, said he, *you are a Spaniard, and I a Gascon, let us not grow hot upon it*; and both resumed the language of courtesy and civility.

Another time the King shewing him his buildings of Fontainebleau, asked him what he thought of them. He answered that he thought he had lodged God rather narrowly; alluding to the two chapels that are in the oval court, the only ones that were there at that time, and which, to tell the truth, are very small. The King who could not bear that his piety should be

thus impeached, answered with some warmth: *You, Spaniards, know not what it is to give God any other than material temples: as to us French, we not only lodge him in temples of stone, but in our hearts: but were he lodged in yours, I am afraid he would be only in stones.*

From Fontainebleau they came to Paris, where the King shewing him the gallery of the Louvre, asked him his opinion of it: *the Escorial is quite another thing*, answered Don Pedro. *I believe it*, replied the King; *but has it a Paris at the end of it as my galleries have?*

Don Pedro seeing one day at the Louvre the King's sword in the hands of a cloak-bearer, stepped forward, and, throwing himself on one knee, kissed it: *paying*, said he, *this honor to the most glorious sword in Christendom.*

During the eight months truce, which we have spoken of above, the President Jeannin was continually busy about the treaty. He had two great difficulties to surmount; one was, that the King of Spain would not treat with the United Provinces, but on the footing of his subjects; and they wanted that he should acknowledge them to be a free and independent country. The other was that the Prince of Orange, whose

power and authority were extremely weakened by the peace, opposed it by a thousand artifices, being supported by the Provinces of Zeland, which was always for war, and by some towns of his faction.

These two obstacles were at length overcome: the Spaniards gave up the first point, and declared that they acknowledged the united Provinces, as free and independent states; and with regard to the second, the King talked so resolutely to the Prince of Orange about it, that he durst no longer stop the course of the treaty, which, however, did not end in a peace, as it was to be wished, but only in a truce of twelve years, which was merely commercial, and designed for the security of trade on both sides.

The news of this agreement spread the King's fame all over Europe. The Duke of Venice told our Ambassador in the senate, *that both he and all their Lordships present could not sufficiently admire the wisdom of the King, who never was mistaken in the measures he adopted, and never missed his aim: that he was the true support of the peace and happiness of Europe, and the only thing that was wanting to complete*

the felicity of his reign, was, that it should be eternal. An eulogy the more glorious, as Venice has always been looked upon, and not without reason, as the seat of political wisdom, and as the praises bestowed by that senate, are like so many oracles.

From all quarters the friendship and protection of this great King were courted. All differences were left to his arbitration, his assistance was implored, and, as he was equally wise, powerful, beloved, and dreaded, nobody protested against his decisions, or dared to attack those that he protected; but he was so just that he never invaded the rights of others, nor would he foment the rebellions of subjects against their lawful Prince. Of this he gave a most noble and striking proof in the affair of the Moors.

We know how the Moors and Saracens formerly invaded all Spain about the year 725. The Christian Spaniards with the help of the French, conquered it all back again from them inch by inch, except the kingdom of Granada, which was not very extensive, but extremely rich and populous; because the remnants of those infidels had withdrawn themselves into

a narrow compass. Ferdinand King of Arragon, and Isabella Queen of Castille completed the conquest of that kingdom in the year 1492, and thus put an end to the Empire of the Moors; and to the Mahometan Religion in Spain, obliging these Infidels either to receive Baptism, or quit the kingdom.

Now, as those who had thus made profession of the Christian Religion, had done it by compulsion, the greater part of them continued Mahometans or Jews in their hearts (for there were many of the latter among them) and privately educated their children in their incredulity. What still contributed very much to it was the extreme severity of the Spaniards, who not only made invidious distinctions between these new Christians, and the old ones, for they neither admitted them into employments, nor holy orders; nor did they form any alliances with them; but what was worse, they oppressed them with taxes, and were continually inventing new methods to insult and vex them. Thus circumstanced, those unfortunate people seeing themselves too weak to shake off the Spanish yoke, had thought it necessary to implore the assistance of some foreign, but

Christian power, because that of the King of Morocco, and of the other African Princes would have rendered them odious. With this view, they privately sent deputies to our Henry, when he was as yet but King of Navarre. In the year 1595, when they saw that he had entirely crushed the league, and was settled on the throne, they again implored his protection. He graciously received their proposals, sent emissaries unknown into Spain to take a view of their situation, and flattered them with the hopes of assisting them, which indeed he could lawfully do, being at that time in war with the King of Spain, and all kinds of arms being permitted against one's enemies. They returned again in 1608 earnestly to entreat him to accept their proposals and offers, and to know his answer from his own mouth: but he plainly told them that, in quality of most Christian King, he could not espouse their cause as long as the peace of Vervin subsisted, but if the Spaniards openly infringed it the first, he would then have just cause to take them under his protection.

Their deputies having lost all hopes from that quarter, addressed themselves to the King

of England, whom they found still less disposed than Henry to assist them. In the mean time the court of Spain having got some intelligence of their underhand machinations was greatly surprised, and not without some apprehensions, as they were computed at near a million of souls, and in possession of almost all the trade, especially that of oils, which is very considerable in that country.

King Philip III found out no safer way to prevent the dangerous effect of their conspiracies, than to banish them entirely out of his dominions; which he did by an edict of the 10th of January 1610, which was put into execution with as much heat and cruelty, as deceit; for in carrying them over to Africa, pursuant to their request, they threw a great many of them over board, and stript the rest of all they had; so that such of them as still remained behind, being informed of the ill treatment their companions had met with, came over to France, some by land to S. John de Lus, to the number of a hundred and fifty thousand and upwards, and the rest in French ships, which brought them into various ports of this kingdom. But, to tell the truth, those who

came by land, were not much better used by the French, than by the Spaniards; for in passing through the *Landes*, they were almost all robbed, and their wives and daughters ravished: so that finding so little safety in a country, where they expected protection, they set sail with the King's leave from the ports of Languedoc, and went to Africa, where they became the sworn and implacable enemies of all Christians. Some families of them remained in the sea-port towns of France, such as Bordeaux, and Rouen, where some of their children are to this very day suspected of adhering privately to the Religion of their fathers.

Far from taking those Infidels under his protection, the King had formed great schemes for propagating the Christian faith in the east; but he did not chuse to disclose his mind, till such time as he had settled the affairs of Europe in such a manner, that no troubles, no divisions were to be apprehended in it, and that it could employ all its forces against so powerful an enemy, as the Grand Turk. With that intention he had sent three or four Gentlemen into the east, who, under pretence of travelling, and visiting the holy places, examined

the country, the disposition of the people, the state of the forces, the fortified towns, and in fine the Turkish Government. Having received the desired information about all those matters, he flattered himself that, when he had regulated the interest, and cemented the union of the Christian Princes, he would in three or four years at most, crush that power, which was thought so formidable, and that, with an army of thirty five thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse only, Alexander the great having had no greater one than that, when he destroyed the Persian Empire, which was undoubtedly much larger and more powerful than that of the Turks.

I shall explain his project for the reunion of the Christian Princes, when I have given a summary account of some important events that happened in the three or four last years of his reign.

As his chief study was to make money, which is the sinew of war, he always listened to every proposal that was made him for that purpose; and the rather, as he intended to abolish and suppress the land and salt-tax. The former he could not do without considerably lessening

his revenue: the question, therefore, was to find out a fund that would supply its place, and this fund was the domain of the crown, which he meant not only to redeem but to improve by several new duties, and amongst others, those arising from the rolls, which in five or six years would have been entirely cleared, and have brought him in, it is said, fifteen millions a year: but after his death Mary of Medicis encumbered them more than ever they had been before.

It were certainly to be wished that the sacred patrimony of the crown was redeemed, and that care was taken to join together that mass, which the laws of the kingdom, and the wisdom of so many great men have been forming for ages together; I mean that revenue which for so long a time had maintained our Kings, and could maintain them still in splendor and magnificence, without being a burden to their subjects, unless in cases of the greatest and most urgent necessity.

With respect to the Gabel, our Henry's project was to buy of the proprietors all the salt-marshes of Poitou and Britanny, and then to sell the salt on the spot itself, at his own

price to merchants, who would sell it again throughout the kingdom, just as corn is sold, without any restraint or impost. In this manner there would have been no necessity in the King's salt-magazines for so many Officers, comptrollers, clerks, keepers, and a thousand others, that are fed and paid at his Majesty's and the public expence, and against whom there are often very grievous complaints. The poor peasants would not have been oppressed, by being forced to take a certain quantity of salt every year whether they will or no; and there is no manner of doubt but the people would have had it four times cheaper than it is at present, and the King been much richer by it than he is, and that, without expence, trouble, or oppressing his subjects.

Now, the King's object being to fill his coffers, and find out means to supply the place of the land-tax, it must be owned he laid imposts, created offices, and did a great many things, which gave general cause of complaint. Besides, in order to clear off his old debts, and pay the rewards and pensions of those who had served him in his wars with the league, he was obliged to leave them the profits accruing from

certain measures which they had advised him to adopt; thus charging himself with the blame and reproaches, that more properly belonged to them. Those, however, who were acquainted with his intentions, were far from condemning his conduct, and what some called avarice, and an insatiable thirst of gold, they looked upon as good husbandry and prudent oeconomy.

But tho' no Prince was more desirous of making his subjects happy, and his kingdom powerful; yet it must be owned he was sometimes mistaken in the choice of the means he made use of for that purpose, and that were not always as innocent as his intentions. There were two of them in particular, one of which made a great deal of noise, and did not succeed; and the other was extremely pernicious in its consequences.

The former was an enquiry into the annuities of the town-house, by which it was meant to suppress those that had been ill gotten, than which indeed nothing could be more just: but as the greatest part of those annuities had passed from one to another, or had been divided, and that thousands of families would thereby be aggrieved, all Paris was in an uproar

and the citizens flew for redress to Miron, their Mayor, who was also Lieutenant civil. This man had, on several occasions, given, undeniable proofs of his great zeal for the King's service, but he was withal so very honest, that no consideration upon earth could make him desert the cause of the people whose magistrate he was. In fact he boldly stood up in their defence, and strongly pleaded for them in the assemblies of the town-house; he warmly espoused their interest with the superintendant, and presented addresses to the King in their favor: but in those spirited addresses he happened to make use of some odious comparisons, which were levelled not at the King but at some of his council.

This threw the Louvre into a ferment: the courtiers cried out that he had blasphemed: those whom he had glanced at in his speech as well as those who were concerned in the treaty of enquiry into the annuities, did all in their power to inflame the King's resentment against him, and to persuade him rigorously to punish his audacity. On the other hand, the people hearing that their Magistrate was threatened, take fire much more readily than one would

ever imagine, the citizens flock about him in great numbers, and surround his house to defend him. Miron earnestly beseeches them to withdraw, and not to make him guilty, he remonstrates to them that there is no danger; that they have to do with a King as great and wise, as he was good and just, and who did not suffer himself to be turned about by the breath of every evil Counsellor.

Whereupon his enemies made use of all their eloquence to engage the King to take him away by force, and to exert his royal authority: but to this he very prudently made answer, that authority did not always consist in carrying every thing with a high hand; that regard was to be had both to time, persons, and subject; that having been ten years in extinguishing the flames of civil war, he dreaded even the smallest spark of it; that Paris had cost him too much, to run the risk of losing it, which, in his opinion, would be inevitably the case, if he followed their advice, because he would be under the necessity of making terrible examples, which in a few days would deprive him of the glory of his clemency, and of the love of his subjects, which he valued as much and more

than his crown; that he had, on a hundred occasions, experienced the fidelity and probity of Miron, who had no bad intention, but who, no doubt, thought himself bound by the duty of his office to act as he did: that if any hasty or inconsiderate expression had happened to slip from him, he willingly pardoned him on account of his past services; that after all, if Miron aspired to the glory of being the martyr of the public cause, he was resolved to baulk him of that honor, and not draw upon himself the name of persecutor and tyrant; in a word, he said that when a man was to be punished, that was not the time to seize him, when circumstances were all in his favor.

Thus did this wise King prudently overlook that affair, nor did he even chuse to be informed of what was going on, lest he should be forced to some act of authority, which might perhaps be attended with dangerous consequences. He, therefore, graciously accepted the excuses and most humble submission of Miron, and moreover ordered a stop to be put to the enquiry into annuities, which had caused such a disturbance.

The second method he made use of to get

money, and which had a most pernicious tendency, was the *Paulette*, or annual duty. The better to understand this, it will be necessary to go a little higher up.

The offices of Judicature, Police, and Finances were formerly filled, under the first and second race of our Kings, by Gentlemen; for the nobility was obliged to study and learn the laws of the kingdom. They were chosen according to the maturity of their years and judgment, and changed from time to time from one tribunal to another: they received no salary from their clients, but only moderate wages which they were paid by the public, more as an honor, than a reward. In process of time, about the end of the second, and the beginning of the third race, the nobility being entirely sunk in ignorance and sloth, the plebeians and citizens, applied themselves to the study of the law, and by degrees raised themselves to the offices as well of Judicature as of Finances, which they began greatly to improve, because it was to them they owed all their consequence and dignity, having not even the advantage of birth to recommend them as the gentry had. They were, however, but very little employed

in affairs of Judicature, because the Ecclesiastics were in possession of that department, and had their Officers who administered justice.

In the mean time the Parliament which had hitherto been, as I may say, the council of the state, and an Epitome of the states general, having undertaken to take cognisance of the disputes of individuals, whereas before that time it handled only political affairs of consequence: Philip the fair, or according to others, Lewis Hutin his son, fixed it at Paris; and as that body was very illustrious, being composed of all the Dukes, Peers, and Prelates of the kingdom, and of the ablest men in the law, but more especially because the King often sat amongst them, they reduced under their jurisdiction all the other Royal Magistrates, to wit, the Bailifs, and Seneschals, who from being sovereign Judges became their subalterns.

A long time after, our Kings created at different times, many other Parliaments with the sole view to the better administration of justice, and not on account of any pecuniary consideration: so far from it, that they paid the wages of these new officers out of their own coffers.

At that period the number of the members of Parliament was very small, and nothing could be finer than the manner in which those places were filled. It was customary to keep a list of all the ablest men in the law, and when any place became vacant, three of them were chosen, and their names carried to the King, who preferred him he thought proper, but the courtiers and favourites soon perverted that order; they persuaded our Kings not to mind those who were presented to them, but to name one of their own free choice. This they did to get some present from him who should be named on their recommendation; and the evil became so great, that those places were often filled by mean illiterate fellows, which made men of merit prefer the station of lawyer to that of Counsellor.

The evil growing worse and worse every day, and the rich becoming extremely covetous of those places for the sake of lucre, and their wives from vanity, those who were at the head of affairs began to create employments which they sold, in order to make money of them. Thus in the reign of Lewis XII, when his coffers were exhausted by the long wars of Italy, all

the places in the finances were set to sale. However, that good King having immediately foreseen the dangerous tendency of such a measure, had resolved to reimburse those who had bought them, but died before he had time to carry that good design into execution. Francis I, his son, who, he foretold, would spoil all, sold in like manner all the offices of Judicature, and many other new ones, which he had at different time purposely created with a view to get money.

Henry II instituted the Presidials, and Charles IX and Henry II increasing the evil, not only invented a thousand other places, which they made a trafic of, but likewise sold the charges, when they fell vacant either by death, or forfeiture.

Hitherto the evil was very great, but not incurable. All that was to be done, was to suppress a part of those offices when they became vacant, and fill the rest with men of ability and merit. Thus in twenty years that swarm of Officers would have been reduced to a very small number, and these too men of probity.

But things were not represented to Henry

the great in this light : on the contrary, he was given to understand that since he got nothing by the vacant charges, being always obliged to give them away, he would do well to find out some method of easing himself of a part at least of the salaries he paid to those Officers; which could be easily effected, by granting them the reversion of their places for their heirs, for a moderate sum, which they would pay yearly, but without forcing any person, so that it would be rather a favor than a grievance. This was called the annual duty, or *Paulette*, after the name of the contractor Paulet, who was the first adviser as well as contriver of it. All the Officers failed not to pay this duty immediately, to secure their places to their children.

It is needless to dwell on the pernicious consequences that have flowed, and daily flow, from that wicked contrivance. A man must be blind not to see them, and very dull not to know that is an evil, which it is absolutely necessary, tho' at present, extremely difficult, to remedy.

I shall not clog this history with the detail of all the ceremonies and rejoicings, which took

place at the birth and baptism of Henry the great's Children, or at the marriages of some of the Princes and grandees of the court, amongst the rest, that of the Prince of Condé, and of the Duke of Vendome, which were celebrated in the month of July 1609.

1609 The Prince of Condé married Charlotte Marguerite daughter of the constable of Montmorency. She was so wonderfully beautiful, and had something in her air so very noble, that the King was more taken with her, than with any woman he had ever before seen: and this was what occasioned, shortly after, the retreat of the Prince of Condé, who carried her with him to Flanders, and from thence to Milan, to the great mortification of Henry, who was grieved to see the first Prince of his blood throw himself into the arms of his enemies.

The Duke of Vendome married the young Lady of Mercœur, who had been betrothed to him, as we have already seen, in the year 1597. It was not, however, without great difficulty, that his mother, a proud and haughty woman, consented to the celebration of the nuptials, which would never have taken place, if the King had not meddled in the affair. Indeed it

was with much ado that he gained his point, tho' he made use of no other means than those of mildness and persuasion, and conducted himself on that occasion more as a father, who makes law for his son, than as a King, who is determined to be obeyed.

I shall likewise forbear to speak of his usual diversions, such as hunting, building, walking, feasts, and play. I shall only observe that in banquets and Carrouels he wished to appear as jolly, and dextrous as any other; and tho' he was rather sober, yet when he had his bottle before him, he was exceedingly gay and facetious; his good-humour and sallies of wit being the most agreeable part of the entertainment: he displayed as much vigour and skill in all manly and genteel exercises, as the youngest nobleman. He was even fond of balls, and sometimes danced at them, but, to tell the truth, with more gaiety than gracefulness. Some people found fault with this great Prince for demeaning himself so far as to play and frolic in that manner, and thought it unbecoming a grey beard still to indulge in the pranks and follies of youth. It may be said in his defence that his mind, fatigued with intense

labour, stood in need of that relaxation; but I know not what answer to make to those who reproach him with having carried too far his passion for cards and dice, a passion so unbecoming a great King, and with having been withal an unfair player, eager after gain, timid in great strokes, and out of humour when he lost. All I can say to this is, that we must own it was a defect in this Prince, who, like the sun was not free from spots.

It were to be wished for the honor of his memory that he had no other failing than that; but his immoderate love of women was a much more culpable one, in a Christian Prince, in a married man, on whom God had conferred so many favors, and who had so many great projects in contemplation. Sometimes he had transient desires, which vanished with the night; but when he met with women whose charms wounded his heart, he loved even to madness, and in those transports it was impossible to know Henry the great.

The Poets tell us that Hercules took the distaff, and spun for the love of the beautiful Omphale: Henry did things still meaner for his mistresses. He dressed himself one day in a peasant's garb, and carried a load of straw on

his head, in order to get near the fair Gabrielle; and it is said that the Marchioness of Verneuil saw him more than once at her feet patiently bearing her disdain and ill treatment: an instructive lesson to Princes not to suffer themselves to be thus blinded by that foolish and unfortunate passion, which unmans the noblest heart, and exposes even the most eminent characters to scorn and contempt.

Twenty romances could be written on his numberless love-intrigues with the Countess of Guiche, when he was as yet but King of Navarre; with Jacqueline du Bueil, whom he made Countess of Moret; with Charlotte des Essards, and in fine with many other ladies of all ranks, who prided themselves in being able to captivate so great a Prince.

The great esteem and affection the French had for him, hindered them from taking any great offence at those scandalous amours: but the Queen his consort was extremely piqued at them, which occasioned continual bickerings and quarrels between them.

It was certainly owing to the trouble and vexation caused by those domestic quarrels, that he delayed the execution of the great plan

he had formed for the good and perpetual peace of christendom, and for the downfal of the Turkish Empire.

Various are the accounts that have been given of this famous plan : but here is what the Duke of Sully says of it in his memoirs. He ought certainly to know something about the matter, having so large a share of his master's confidence. We must therefore, in the present case take him for our guide.

The King, says he, being desirous of carrying into execution the projects he had formed after the peace of Vervin, thought it necessary to begin by firmly establishing peace and tranquillity in his kingdom, by gaining the affections of his subjects, and reconciling them with each other, in a word, by removing every cause of hatred and animosity between them. He likewise saw the necessity of chusing men of acknowledged abilities and integrity, to let him know in what manner both his revenue and his kingdom could be best improved ; so that being minutely informed with regard to all his own affairs, he might be the better able to judge by himself what he ought and ought not to do, which enterprizes were practicable, and pro-

portioned to his revenue and which were not :
« for every expence that goes beyond that line,
« draws after it the people's curse , which is
« generally followed by that of God ».

He, therefore, issued out an edict in favor of the Huguenots, in order that both communions might live peaceably together. He then appointed a fixed and certain way for paying off his, and the nation's debts, contracted during the confusion of the times, by the prodigality of his predecessors, and the necessity of his own circumstances, having been obliged to buy both towns and men during the league. Sully shewed him a memorial in the year 1607, by which it appeared he had cleared off debts to the amount of eighty seven millions, which reestablished the credit and reputation of France amongst foreigners, where it was mightily cried down.

The next step he took was to endeavour to engage all the Christian Princes, to join him in the execution of his grand project; and this he did by offering them all that should be taken from the infidels, not reserving the least thing for himself: for he did not wish, he said, to have any further additions made to the dominions he was already possessed of.

He likewise proposed to take every opportunity of obviating and adjusting any difference that might arise amongst the Christian Princes, and that, without any other view, than merely to deserve the reputation of a generous, disinterested, wise, and equitable Prince.

He began by making friends and associates of the Princes and states which he thought best affected to France, such as the united states, the Venetians, the Swiss and Grisons; and after having engaged them by the closest ties to his interest, he endeavoured to keep upon good terms with the three northern powers, viz. England, Denmark, and Sweden. With this view, he examined and adjusted their differences, and even did every thing he could to reconcile them with the Pope, or at least to obtain a cessation of enmity and hatred between them, by some formulary prescribing the manner in which they should live together. This would have been of great advantage to his Holiness, in as much as they would have acknowledged him as the first Prince in christendom, with regard to temporals, and would have shown him, accordingly all manner of respect.

He endeavoured to do the same by the

Electors, the Imperial states and cities, being obliged, he said, to take care of an Empire which had been founded by his predecessors. He then sounded the Lords of Bohemia, Hungary, Transylvania and Poland to know if they would concur with him in removing and rooting out for ever all causes of troubles and divisions in christendom. After that, he treated with the Pope, who approved of and commended his design, and wished to contribute thereto to the utmost of his power.

Thus had he disposed that grand plan, of which I shall here give you an abstract.

His intention was to unite all christendom in such perfect harmony, that it should form but one body, which was to have been called the Christian republic. With that view, he had resolved to divide it into fifteen governments or states, as nearly equal in power as it would be possible, and of which the limits should be so precisely marked by the general consent of all the fifteen together, that no one of them should go beyond them. Those fifteen governments were the territories of the Pope, the German Empire, France, Spain, great Britain, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Denmarck,

Sweden, Savoy, or the kingdom of Lombardy, the Republic of Venice, the Italian Republic, composed of the petty Princes, and towns of Italy, the low countries, and Swiss.

Of these fifteen states five were to have been hereditary, viz. France, Spain, great Britain, Sweden, and Lombardy; six elective, viz. the Popedom, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Denmarck; four Republics, two of which were to have been Democracies, viz. that of Venice, and that of the petty Princes and towns of Italy.

The Pope, besides the territories he possessed already, was to have had the kingdom of Naples, and the homage as well of the Italian Republic, as of the Island of Sicily.

The Republic of Venice was to have had Sicily, for which it was to have done fealty and homage to the holy see, but without any other duty but that of kissing the Pope's feet, and giving a golden crucifix every twenty years.

The Italian Republic was to have been composed of the states of Florence, of Genoa, Lucca, Mantua, Parma, Modena, Monaco, and other small Principalities and Lordships, and was also to be held of the holy see, on the

sole condition, of paying it a golden crucifix of the value of ten thousand livres.

The Duke of Savoy, besides his own possessions, was still to have had the Milanese; and the whole was to have been erected into a kingdom by the Pope under the name of kingdom of Lombardy, from which the Cremonese was to have been taken away in exchange for Montferrat, which was to have been annexed to it.

Franche-Comté, Alsace, Tirol, the territory of Trent, and their dependencies, were to have been incorporated with the Helvetic commonwealth, which was to pay simple homage to the German Empire every twenty five years.

The seventeen provinces of the low countries, as well Catholic as Protestant, were to have been formed into a free and sovereign Republic, except that it was to have paid the like homage to the Empire. To this government were to have been added the Dutchies of Cleves, Juliers, Berghe, la Mark, Ravenstein, and other petty Lordships in their neighbourhood.

Transylvania, Moldavia, and Walachia were to have been annexed to the kingdom of Hungary.

The Emperor was to have renounced for ever all views of aggrandizing either himself or any of his family by any forfeiture, dishcrison, or reversion of male fiefs; but was at liberty to dispose of the vacant fiefs, in favor of such as were not his relations, with the advice and consent of the Electors, and Princes of the Empire. It was also to have been stipulated that, upon no account whatsoever, the Imperial thrones should henceforth be filled consecutively by two Princes of the same blood, lest it should be perpetuated in the family, as it had been for a long time before in the house of Austria.

The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia were also to have been elective by the votes of the seven Electors, viz. 1° the Nobility, Clergy, and towns of that country. 2° The Pope. 3° The Emperor. 4° The King of France. 5° The King of Spain. 6° The King of England. 7° The Kings of Sweden, Denmarck and Poland, who were to have, all three, but one voice.

Besides, to settle all differences that might arise betwixt the confederates, and prevent bloodshed, a general Council was to have been established, composed of sixty persons, four from each state; and was to have resided in

some town in the center of Europe , such as Metz , Nancy , Cologne , or some other. Three other Councils , of twenty persons each , were also to have been formed in three different places , under the jurisdiction of the General one.

This General Council , which might have been called the senate of the Christian Republic , was to have established a certain rule and order between Princes and their subjects to prevent , on one hand , the oppression and tyranny of the former , and on the other , the complaints and rebellions of the latter. They were also to have appointed a fixed and certain fund both of money and troops , to which each state was obliged to contribute according as it would be assessed by the Council , for the purpose of protecting against the attacks of the infidels those powers that were in their vicinity , such as Hungary and Poland against the Turks , and Sweden and Poland against the Moscovites and Tartars.

When those fifteen Powers were firmly established in their rights , Governments and limits , which Henry hoped to bring about in less than three years : they were , by the unani-

mous consent of all together, to have chosen three Captains General, two by land, and one by sea, who should attack, all at once, the Ottoman Empire; to effect which, each of the confederate Powers was to have contributed a certain quantity of troops, ships, Artillery, and money, according as they should be taxed. The whole of what they were all to have furnished, amounted to two hundred and sixty five foot, fifty thousand horse, a train of two hundred and seventeen pieces of ordnance, with waggons, Officers and warlike stores in proportion, a hundred and seventeen large ships, and galleys, besides the middle-sized vessels, the fire-ships and transports.

All the Christian Princes and states would have found their account in this arrangement. The house of Austria alone would have lost by it, and been stript to accommodate others: but a plan had been formed to make it accede thereto, whether it would or no. The plan was this. First, we must suppose, that in Italy, the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Savoy were well acquainted with the King's design, and would assist him with all their forces; the Duke of Savoy, in particular, was extremely

eager to promote it, by reason the King gave him his eldest daughter in marriage for his son Victor Amedeus; that in Germany four Electors, viz. those of Brandenburg, Cologne, Mayence, and the Elector Palatine, were also acquainted with, and would do their utmost to forward it; that the Duke of Bavaria had their word, as also that of the King, that he would be raised to the Empire, and that several of the Imperial cities had already addressed themselves to the King, beseeching him to honor them with his protection, and maintain them in their privileges, which the house of Austria had abolished: that in Bohemia and Hungary, he had intelligence amongst the Lords and Nobility; and that the people there were so enraged at the heaviness of the yoke, that they were ready to shake it off, and give themselves up to the first who came to their relief.

Every thing being thus favourable to him; the affair of Cleves, of which I am going to speak, intervened, and furnished him with an opportunity of beginning the execution of his project, which was to be carried on in this manner.

After having raised an army of forty thousand

men, which he did, he was to set out, and on his march to dispatch Ambassadors to all the Christian Princes, to acquaint them with his just and pious intentions; then, under pretence of going to Cleves, he was to have made himself master of all the passages of the Maese, and attacked, all of a sudden, Charlemont, Maestrich, and Namur, which were but ill fortified. At the same time all the great towns of the low countries would have cried out *liberty*, the Lords, would have taken the field with the same intent, and would have set up the Belgic Lion with the flowers de Luce. The Hollanders would have guarded all the coasts with their numerous vessels to obstruct the commerce of the Flemish by sea, as the French would have done the like by land. The design of this was, to make the Flemish shake off the Spanish yoke the sooner, and address themselves to the King and his allies, to beg of the King of Spain to give them their liberty, and restore them to peace, which they could never hope for, as long as they should be under his domination.

It is more than probable that, at the approach of so powerful an army, from the intel-

ligence he had with the principal Lords, from the motions of the great towns and from the love the Flemish always had for liberty, it is more than probable, I say, that all Flanders would have risen up in arms, especially when the people saw the admirable order and exact discipline of the King's troops, who would have behaved themselves everywhere like good and honest guests and harmed nobody on pain of death, but, above all, when they were satisfied that it was for them he was working, and that of all his conquests the only thing he reserved for himself was the glory and satisfaction of restoring those provinces to freedom and happiness.

After he had effected this, and settled the difference that had arisen about the succession to Cleves, all the Princes concerned in that affair, the above-mentioned Electors, and the deputies of several great towns were to come and thank him, and at the same time entreat him to join his prayers, and his authority to the humble petition they were to present to the Emperor, to beg that he would be so good as to restore the states and cities of the Empire to their ancient rights and franchises; especially

to the freedom of electing a King of the Romans, without making use of any undue practices, such as force, promises or threats. With this view, they were immediately to come to a resolution of electing one that was of the house of Austria. They had previously agreed amongst themselves that it should be the Duke of Bavaria. The Pope was to have joined them in that request, which would have been made with so much warmth and earnestness, that it would have been extremely difficult for the Emperor, unarmed as he was, not to comply with it.

A like petition would have been presented to the King, and his allies by the people of Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, Styria and Carinthia; especially for the right they had of electing their own Prince, and of chusing that form of government, which they should judge best, by the advice of their friends and allies. The King would have complied with their request, and backed it with prayers, entreaties, and the greatest deference, even beneath his dignity, to shew that he did not mean to use force, so much as reason and equity.

The Duke of Savoy would, in like manner, have humbly entreated the King of Spain, in

the name of his children, to be so good as to give them the dowry of their mother, at the same rate he had portioned their Aunt Isabella; and in case of refusal, the King was to permit Lesdiguières to assist him with fifteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and a hundred thousand crowns a month to conquer the Milanese and Lombardy; in which expedition he would have been favoured by the greater part of the Italian Princes.

After that he and his allies were to entreat the Pope and the Venitians to interpose their mediation between the King of Spain and him, and amicably to adjust the difference that was ready to break out between them with regard to Naples, Sicily, Navarre, and Roussillon. And then, to shew that he had no thoughts of aggrandizing himself, nor any other ambition than to establish the tranquillity of Christendom on a solid basis, he was to have given up Navarre and Roussillon to the King of Spain, on condition he ceded Naples and Sicily, not to him, for he was quite satisfied with France, but to the Pope and Venetians to whom he would have given up his right to these countries.

In a word, by an Apostolic Legate, and the remonstrances of his allies, he was to have acquainted the King of Spain, and all the Princes of his blood with his design, and begged his approbation thereof. He was to have laid before him the many advantages he would reap from the execution of this scheme, and endeavoured to make him comprehend that he should be thereby not only richer, but likewise enjoy more peace and tranquillity, as he would be less molested; that, in twenty years, Spain which was almost desert, would be repeopled, and become one of the most flourishing states in Europe. I believe, however, it would not have been a very easy matter to persuade him to that: for inordinate ambition rather grasps at chimeras than realities, and would sooner have a vast extent of a waste and desert country, than a more confined one that was well cultivated and well peopled: but perhaps he would have been convinced by arms, tho' not by reason.

Besides, the King was resolved to undertake nothing without the consent as well as the concurrence of his allies; not to begin his attacks in many places at a time, especially if they were far from each other, but to make his expeditions follow one another as nearly as possible,

and never to engage in any new enterprise, till success had crowned the preceding one; to shew neither ambition, avarice, nor pride in the distribution of the soldiers quarters, of provisions, spoils and conquests; to favor the weak and needy states; always to send an honourable and useful reward to all Officers and soldiers, who would have distinguished themselves by some noble exploit; never to enter into any of the partialities that might arise amongst his friends and allies, but to shew himself on every occasion, even, just, and a common friend to them all; to observe the strictest, order and discipline, and prevent pillaging, rapes, burning of houses and such like excesses, in order that he might be received every where as the deliverer of nations, and as one who carried peace and liberty with him, and not desolation and ruin.

He had been taking his measures, and making his preparations with all possible care for eight or nine years before: he had secured friends and allies for himself on every side, had secret intelligence every where; he had gained over the college of the Cardinals by considerable pensions, drawn into his service all the best

Officers in Germany and Switzerland, and likewise taken care to have all the ablest pens in Europe for him, as it was his intention rather to use persuasion than force, and to have people made so well acquainted with his design, that they should look upon him as come to rescue them from bondage and oppression.

Such was the plan of that mighty project, which we may truly say it required more than human wit to devise; «but great as it was, he
« was equal to it. Princes ought always to make
« their strength the measure of their undertak-
« ings, otherwise they must necessarily ruin
« themselves and their state, just as a man who
« carries on law-suits, or makes purchases
« beyond what his purse can bear, is in the
« end obliged to sell all he has, runs over head
« and ears in debt, and involves himself in
« numberless difficulties».

Besides those forces already great by their number, but ten times more so by their valor, being all chosen men, amongst whom were four thousand Gentlemen capable of attempting any thing in presence of their King: the Prince of Orange was to take the field with fifteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse; the

Prince of Anhalt in Germany with ten thousand; the Electors, and the Duke of Bavaria had promised twice that number, which were to rendezvous at different places, at the first sound of trumpet; the Venetians and the Duke of Savoy, with a considerable army each, were to declare for him, on the first signal that would be given them. As for the Swiss, besides six thousand chosen men that were coming to him, he could have got as many more from them as he thought proper. With regard to his finances, all his troops had received three months pay, his towns were provided with all necessaries, his magazines on the frontier completely stocked, his Officers loaded with presents; he had besides fourteen millions of livres in the Bastille, seven millions in the hands of his treasurer, which formed the clear income of the preceding year, two more millions in other hands; without counting twenty seven millions more, the revenue of the current year: besides all that, Sully his superintendant promised him forty millions extraordinary for the space of three years, so that he could have made war for four years without burdening his subjects with new

charges ; but his intention was to carry it on so vigorously that he should soon bring it to a conclusion : « for he held it as a maxim , that a » wise Prince , when forced to make war , ought « to do it as briskly and in as short a time as « possible , and begin by striking terror into his « enemies by formidable preparations , because « in cases of this kind the greatness of the « expence proves in general very advantageous , « and conquests made by the fear of arms go « much farther than those made by arms themselves ».

We have seen what his project was : God alone knows what would have been the issue of it. However , to judge only from appearances , it is more than probable that it would have been crowned with success ; for there was scarce , a Prince in Christendom who would not have favoured it , nor one that seemed disposed to take the part of the house of Austria , except the Duke of Saxony in Germany , and the Duke of Florence in Italy : but the King would soon have brought them to reason , the former , by assisting against him the heirs of that Duke William , who had been formerly dispossessed of his Electorate by the Emperor Charles V , and the latter , by encouraging Pisa , Sienna , and

Florence to recover their liberty, and to shake off the yoke of the house of Medicis.

But it is time to explain what that affair of Cleves and Juliers was, which had furnished him with an opportunity of taking up arms, and paved the way for him to carry his grand scheme into execution. John William Duke of Juliers, Cleves, and Berghe, Count of la Mark and Ravensburg, son of Duke William, and of Mary of Austria, sister to the Emperor Charles V and grandson of Duke John, being dead without issue the 25th of March 1609, his succession put all the neighbouring states in motion. He had four sisters: the first was married to the Marquis of Brandenburg; the second to the Count Palatine of Neuburg, the third to the Duke of Deux-Ponts, and the fourth to the Marquis of Burgaw. The children sprung from those marriages laid a claim to his succession, the nearest excluding those that were more remote, as the sons did the daughters. The Duke of Saxony descended of an eldest daughter of Duke John, grand-father to Duke William put in his claim also, and said it belonged to him in preference to any other, because it was specified in the marriage-contract of that daughter that in

default of male children in the house of Juliers; the succession should devolve to him and his descendants; which being the case, it was undoubtedly his.

The Duke of Nevers pretended likewise to have a right to the succession of Cleves, as being the only one who bore the name and arms of that Dutchy; and the Count of Maulvriër by the same reason demanded the County of la Mark, because he was the eldest of that house, and in that quality claimed also the Dutchy of Bouillon, and the Lordship of Sedan, which were held by the Viscount of Turenne, Marshal Bouillon. The Emperor alledged that the pretensions of all those competitors were ill-founded, those territories being male fiefs, which could not be possessed by females, and in default of male issue devolved to the Empire, and that therefore it belonged to him to dispose of them. In consequence of this right, he privately gave the investiture of them to Leopold of Austria, Bishop of Strasbourg, and sent him with forces to seize upon those states, under pretence of taking care of the administration, and at the same time to summon the parties concerned before his

Imperial Majesty , in order that he might hear what they had to say for themselves.

The Duke of Nevers and the Count of Maulvrievrier were soon non-suited , being told that the fiefs they laid claim to were united , and could not be dismembered. The pretensions of the Marquis of Brandenburg and of the Count Palatine of Neuburg being evidently the best grounded , the contest between them was in the beginning pretty hot. The Landgrave of Hesse, their common friend, having undertaken to adjust matters between them, had made them promise in writing to settle the affair amicably, and to turn their arms against the usurpers only , the administration of the succession remaining equal and common between them , save only the rights of the Emperor ; but in the mean while Leopold of Austria sent forces to take possession of Juliers.

The two Princes resolved upon driving him out, sought every where for succour, and , in particular , implored that of Henry , to whom they sent the Prince of Anhalt with letters from the Elector Palatine , and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who assured him that his arms would be just, and , with the assistance of God , victo-

rious. The Prince of Anhalt spoke to him, no doubt, of many other things relative to his grand project. The King received him with great kindness, and with unparalleled joy listened to his proposal. He answered him in the most obliging terms that he would go in person to the assistance of his friends and allies, and, till he could go with a train suitable to a King of France, he would, in the mean time, order some troops to march on before him; which he did towards the end of the year 1509. He prayed him, however, to tell the confederate Princes, that they would wrong him very much, if they thought he would assist them to the prejudice of the Catholic Religion in those countries. On the contrary, he wished, above all things, that it was maintained there in the same state it was in, at the time of Duke William's death, who was a Catholic, but Brandenburg and Neuburg were Protestants.

The Emperor sent him also an Ambassador, in whom he placed great confidence, to entreat him not to favor the rebellion, and injustice of those Princes, and to consider that he could not assist them without hurting the Catholic Religion. Henry the great replied, that being

the most Christian King, he would know how to maintain and propagate it: but that was not the point in question; all he wanted to do, was to assist his friends, whom he would never forsake as long as he lived.

During all that winter, preparations were making for that expedition, which was only a cover for a much greater one. As he was determined to carry it on in person, he wished before his departure, to establish such good order in the Government of his kingdom, as to prevent all future disturbances; in order to which he thought he could do no better than to leave the Regency of it to the Queen, assisted by a council composed of fifteen persons, viz. The Cardinals Joyeuse, and du Perron, the Dukes of Mayenne, Montmorency, and Montbazon, the Marshals Brissac, and Fervaques, Chateau-neuf, who was to have been Lord Keeper of the seals of the Regency, (for the King would have his Chancellor with him) Achilles de Harlay, first President of Parliament, Nicolai, first President of the Chamber of Accounts, the Count of Chateau-Vieux, and the Lord of Liancourt, both Gentlemen of great wisdom, Pontcarré Counsellor of Parliament,

Gevres, secretary of state, and Maupeou Comptroller of the Finances.

Moreover he intended to establish a small council of five persons in each of the twelve provinces of France, viz. one of the Clergy, one of the Nobility, one of the law, one of the Finances, and one to represent the corporate towns. These twelve petty councils were to have corresponded with, and depended of the greater one, which was to have formed its resolutions upon the majority of votes, the Queen having but her own: besides their resolutions were to be conformable to the general instructions, which the King had drawn up for them, and in case any thing happened, which was not clearly enough explained in their instructions, they were to inform his Majesty of it. Thus, tho' absent, he kept the reins of government in his own hands, and tied those of the Queen very tight, lest she should assume too much authority, and perhaps be prevailed on to make bad use of her power.

While his mind was taken up with these objects, some persons, and amongst the rest, Conchini and his wife, put it into the Queen's head, that, to acquire more dignity and lustre

in the eyes of the people, she ought to get herself consecrated, and crowned before the King's departure. This was not at all pleasing to his Majesty; and the rather, as that ceremony was necessarily attended with vast expence, and a considerable loss of time, which would detain him at Paris, and delay the execution of his designs. He was extremely impatient to quit that city: a certain I know not what within him was urging him to leave it as soon as he possibly could; for which reason, he was very sorry for this coronation; but he could not refuse that proof of his affection to the Queen, who ardently wished for it.

Sully relates that he heard him often say: *my dear friend, this coronation presages some misfortune to me: they will take away my life. I shall never get out of this city: I shall die in it; my enemies have no other resource left but my death. I have been told that I should be killed at the first grand feast I would solemnize, and that I should die in a coach, which is the cause that sometimes, when I'm in one, I start up, and cry out in spite of myself.*

To defeat those ominous predictions, he was advised to set out the next day, and not

to mind the coronation, which could very well be performed without him; but that would have hurt the Queen exceedingly, and as he was kind and obliging, he remained to please her. She was crowned at Saint-Denis the thirteenth of May, and, on the sixteenth of the same month, was to make her entrance into Paris, where there were magnificent preparations going on to honor that feast.

The King's troops were already on their march to the place of rendezvous on the frontier of Champaign, whither the nobility, that flocked together from all quarters, had sent their equipages: the Duke of Rohan was going to muster up the six thousand Swiss, and fifty pieces of ordnance were already ordered from the Arsenal. Already had the King sent to ask the Arch-Duke and the Infanta in what manner they chose he should pass through their territories, either as a friend or as an enemy: every hour's delay seemed to him a whole year, as if he himself prognosticated his own unhappy fate.

His enemies were in the most profound silence, which perhaps did not proceed so much from consternation, and because they dreaded the success of his arms, as from the expecta-

tion of some desperate blow, in which they had placed all their hopes. There must have been a great many conspiracies formed against the life of this good King, whereas, from twenty different quarters he received advice thereof, whereas in Spain and Milan a printed account of his death was handed about; whereas eight days before he was assassinated, an express passed through Liege, who said he was carrying the news of his death to the German Princes; whereas a billet had been found on the altar at Montargis, purporting that he was shortly to die of a violent death; whereas, in fine, it was the common report all over France that he would not outlive that year, and that he should come to a tragic end in the fifty seventh year of his age. He himself, tho' not over-credulous, gave some credit to these prognostics, and looked like one condemned to die, there appeared such sadness and dejection in his countenance, tho' naturally, he was neither fearful nor melancholic.

There was at that time at Paris, and for two years before, a certain hell-born villain, named Ravillac, a native of Angoumois, of low extraction, red-haired, thoughtful and melancholy,

who had been a monk, and after having thrown off the habit before he made his vows, kept school, and afterwards becoming solicitor, came to Paris. It is not known whether he came there on purpose to perpetrate his execrable deed, or whether being there on some other business, he was induced thereto by people, who, knowing that he still had some of the leaven of the league in his heart, and had falsely persuaded himself that the King was going to destroy the Catholic Religion in Germany, thought him a fit person to execute their hellish purpose.

If it is asked who were the demons and furies that inspired him with so damnable a thought, and who spurred him on to effect it, history answers that it does not know, and in an affair of so much consequence, it is not permitted to give surmises and conjectures for undeniable and authentic truths. The very judges who examined him, were afraid to open their lips on the subject, and shrugs of the shoulders were all the answer that it was ever possible to get from them on that head.

This is how he put his wicked design into execution. The day after the coronation, the

On 4th of May, the King left the Louvre at four o'clock in the afternoon, to go to pay a visit to Sully, who was sick at the Arsenal, and at the same time to see the preparations that were making on the bridge of Notre-Dame, and in the Town-house for the reception of the Queen. He was seated in the back part of the coach, with the Duke of Epernon by his side; the Duke of Montbazon, Marshal Lavardin, Roquelaure, la Force, Mirabeau, and Liancourt, his first equerry, were in the front and at the boot. His coach entering from S. Honoré-street into that of la Ferronnerie, met a cart loaded with wine on the right, and on the left, another loaded with hay, which so shut up the passage, that it was obliged to stop; for the street is there very narrow on account of the shops, which are raised against the wall of the church-yard of the holy Innocents. Henry II had formerly ordered they should be thrown down to make the street wider; but his orders were never executed. Alas! would to God that half of Paris had been demolished rather than so great a disaster had happened, the greatest it had ever seen, and which was the source of so many others..... The footmen having passed under

the charnels of the Holy Innocents , to avoid the crowd , and no body attending the coach , the villain , who for a long time had obstinately followed the King in order to execute his horrid purpose , remarked the side the King was in , got in betwixt the shops and the coach , and putting his foot on one of the spokes of the wheel , and the other upon a stone-stud , with a resolution bordering on rage , gave him a stab of a knife between the second and third rib , a little above the heart. Whereupon the King cried out , *I am wounded* ; but the wicked wretch , without the least dismay , renewed his blow , and struck him in the heart , of which he instantly died , fetching a deep sigh. The villain had even the assurance to make a third blow at him , but it was parried by the Duke of Montbazon's sleeve , after which he neither strove to run away , nor hide his knife , but stood there , as if he had a mind to shew himself , and glory in the action he had committed.

He was immediately seized , and examined at different times by commissaries from the Parliament , afterwards judged by all the chambers assembled , and condemned to be drawn asunder by four horses at the place de Greve , after having his arms , thighs , and paps torn off

with red-hot pincers, without shewing the least symptom of fear, or pain, which confirmed the suspicion that some emissaries, under the veil of piety, had instructed and intoxicated him by false assurances that he would die a martyr, if he killed a Prince, whom they taught him to look upon as the sworn enemy of the church.

The Duke of Epernon seeing the King was dead, ordered the coach to turn, and brought the body back to the Louvre, where it was opened in presence of twenty six Physicians and surgeons, who found all the parts so sound, that, according to the ordinary course of nature, he could live thirty years longer.

His bowels were that very instant sent to Saint-Denis, and interred without ceremony. The Jesuits called for his heart, and carried it to their Church at la Fleche, where this great King had given them his house, to build that fine college which we now see there. His body being embalmed was put into a lead-coffin covered with wood, with a cloth of gold over it, and placed in the King's chamber under a canopy, with an alter on each side of it, on which masses were said for eighteen days together. It was then carried to Saint-Denis,

where it was interred with the usual ceremonies, a week after that of Henry III his predecessor, which, you must know, had remained till that time in the Church of S. Cornelius at Compiègne, from whence the Duke of Epernon, and Bellegarde, master of the horse, his former favourites, carried it to Saint-Denis and had it interred, decency requiring that he should be buried before his successor.

The King's death was kept secret from the people the remaining part of that day, and a great part of the next, while the Queen was disposing the grandees and the Parliament to give her the Regency, which she obtained without much difficulty, the Prince of Condé, and the Count of Soissons, who alone could oppose it, being absent. The former was at Milan, as we have already said, and the latter at his house at Blandy, whither he had retired, on account of some discontent, a few days before the Queen's coronation.

When the news of that disaster was spread all over Paris, and that the King, who was thought only wounded, was known for certain to be dead, that mixture of hope and fear which kept that great city in suspense,

burst out on a sudden into loud lamentations and furious groans. Some fell motionless, and fainted away through anguish; others ran through the streets in wild amazement; many embraced their friends, without saying any thing else, than, *ah! what a misfortune!* some shut themselves up in their houses; others threw themselves on the ground: women were seen all dishevelled, roaring and lamenting; fathers asked their children what would become of them, for they had lost their father; whilst others, whose apprehensions were more for the time to come, and who had not forgot the shocking calamities of the last wars, bewailed the miseries of France, and said that the fatal blow which had pierced the King's heart, had likewise pierced that of all the French. It is said that many were so sensibly affected by that melancholy event, that they died of it, some suddenly, and others a few days after. In fine it seemed as if they were in mourning not for one man, but for half mankind; and one would have thought that each of them had lost his whole family, fortune, and hopes by the death of this Prince.

He died at the age of fifty seven years, and

five months , in the thirty eighth year of his reign over Navarre , and in his twenty first over France.

He was twice married , as has been already observed. The first time to Marguerite of France , by whom he had no issue ; and the second to Mary of Medicis. Marguerite , from whom he was divorced by a sentence of the Prelates deputed for that purpose by the Pope , was daughter to Henry II , and sister to the Kings Francis II , Charles IX and Henry III. Mary of Medicis was daughter to Francis , and niece to Ferdinand Dukes of Florence. He had three sons and three daughters by her.

The sons were all born at Fontainebleau. The first named Lewis came into the world the 27th of Septembre 1601 at eleven o' clock at night. He succeeded his father in the throne , and was surnamed the Just. The second was born the 16th of April 1607 , and had the title of Duke of Orleans , but no Christian name , because he died before the baptismal ceremony had been performed , in the year 1611. The third was born the 25th of April 1608 , and was named John Baptist Gaston : he had the title of Duke of Anjou ; but after the death of the second

son, he got that of Duke of Orleans, which he bore till his death, that happened last year.

The eldest of the daughters was born at Fontainebleau the 22^d of November 1602, and was the second of his children. She was named Elizabeth or Isabeau, and married to Philip IV King of Spain, and died some years ago. She was a noble-spirited Princess, and had more sense and courage than usually falls to the share of her sex. Hence it is that the Spaniards used to say she was the daughter of Henry the great. The second was born at the Louvre the 10th of February 1606, and was called Christina. She married Victor Amedæus then Prince of Piedmont, and afterwards Duke of Savoy, one of the ablest, as well as most virtuous Princes in the world. The third came into the world at the same place on S. Chaterine's day, the 25th of November 1609. She is the present Queen of England, widow of the unfortunate King Charles Stuart, whom his subjects have so barbarously deprived both of his crown and life; but heaven the Protector of sovereigns has gloriously restored his son Charles the second to the throne.

Besides these six legitimate children, he

had still eight natural ones by four different mistresses, without counting those he has not acknowledged.

By Gabrielle d'Estrées Marchioness of Monceaux, and Dutchess of Beaufort in Champaign, he had Cæsar Duke of Vendome, who is still living, and who was born in the month of June 1594; Alexander Grand Prior of France, who died prisoner of state, and Henrietta, who married Charles of Lorraine, Duke of Elbeuf.

By Henrietta Balsac d'Entragues, whom he created Marchioness of Verneuil, he had Henry, the present Bishop of Metz, and Gabrielle, who married Bernard de Nogaret, Duke of Epernon, by whom she had the late Duke of Candale, and a daughter now a Carmelite nun. This Gabrielle died in the year 1627.

By Jacqueline de Bueil, to whom he gave the County of Moret, he had Anthony Count of Moret, who was killed in the service of the Duke of Orleans, at the battle of Castelnaudary where the Duke of Montmorency was taken. He was a young Prince whose wit and courage promised a great deal. The Marquis of Vardes afterwards married this Jacqueline de Bueil.

Charlotte des Essarts, to whom he bestowed the estate of Romorantin, brought him two daughters, viz. Jane, the present Abbess of Fontevrault, and Henrietta, who has been that of Chelles. He loved all his children, legitimate and natural, with equal tenderness. He never would suffer them to call him, Sir; a name which seems to render children strangers to their father, and denotes slavery and subjection; but Papa, a name of love and affection. It is true that in the old testament God took the names of Lord, of God of strength, of Lord of hosts, and such others, expressive of his power and dominion; but in the christian law, which is a law of grace and charity, he has ordered us to pray to him as his children, in these tender words, *our father who art in heaven*.

Henry was of a middle stature, nimble and active, inured to labor and hardships. He was well shaped, of a strong and vigorous constitution, perfectly sound of body till he was past fifty, when he had some slight fits of the gout that soon went off without leaving any symptoms of debility behind them. He had a high forehead, bold and piercing eyes, an aquiline

nose, a ruddy complexion, a sweet and majestic, but withal a martial countenance. His beard was brown and rather thick: he wore it large, and his hair short. He began to grow grey from the age of thirty five, and to those who seemed astonished at it he used to say, *'tis the wind of adversity that has blown there.*

« Indeed if we take an attentive survey of
« his whole life, from the moment of his birth,
« we shall find few Princes who have suffered
« as much as he; and it would be very difficult
« to determine whether he has experienced
« more good or bad fortune. He was to be sure,
« the son of a King, but of a King despoiled of
« his crown. His mother was a Princess of great
« courage and a noble spirit, but a rank Hu-
« guenot and an enemy to the court. He gained
« the battle of Coutras, but he lost shortly
« after the Prince of Condé his Cousin, and
« firmest support. The league called forth his
« virtue into light, but it had like to crush him:
« 'twas it that obliged Henry the third to call
« him to his assistance, by which means he
« found himself at the gates of Paris, as if God
« had conducted him thither by the hand: but

« Paris took up arms against him, and all his
« hopes were almost dashed to pieces by the
« defection of the army with which he besieged
« that city. He was, no doubt, very lucky to
« come to the crown of France, no Prince
« having ever succeeded to the throne in an
« hereditary state who was as far from it as he
« was, for there were eleven degrees between
« Henry the third and him, and when he came
« into the world, there were nine Princes of
« the blood before him, viz. King Henry II,
« and his five sons; King Anthony of Navarre,
« his father, and his two sons, who were his
« eldest brothers. All these Princes died, in
« order, as it were, to make way for him to
« the succession; but it was so embroiled, that
« one may say he had a world of pains and
« toils to undergo, and dangers to surmount
« before he could come at it. When young, he
« married Charles the ninth's sister, which
« seemed to be a very advantageous match for
« him; but this marriage was no more than a
« trap laid for him and his friends; and his
« wife, far from being his consolation, proved
« his greatest plague, and, instead of honor,

« brought him only shame and disgrace. His
« second wife blessed him with fine children ,
« but her continual scolding and reproaches
« embittered his life. He got the better of all his
« enemies, and became the arbiter of Chri-
« stendom, but in proportion as his power
« encreased, their hatred grew more virulent,
« and employed more ways to destroy him ;
« insomuch that after having formed numberless
« conspiracies against his life, they at last found
« a Ravailac, who executed what so many
« others had failed in.

« However, it must be owned that his mis-
« fortunes whetted both his wit and courage ,
« and that he was, in fine , a very great King,
« for this reason, that he did not come to the
« crown till he was pretty far advanced in
« years, and had overcome the many difficul-
« ties that obstructed his way to it.

« Indeed it seldom happens that those
« rightly understand the art of governing, who,
« from their infancy, are brought up in the
« expectation of immediately ascending the
« throne as soon as their father dies , or who
« come to the crown at too early a time of life;

« unless they are happy enough to be educated
« under the eye of so virtuous and well-meaning
« a mother, as this great Queen, who has taken
« so much care to have her son Lewis XIV
« instructed in all the good sentiments and
« maxims of Christian policy; and to find a mi-
« nister as wise, and as attached to their in-
« terest, as this young Monarch has found in
« Cardinal Mazarin.

« The reason of it is, they generally fall,
« when very young, into the hands of people,
« who, to secure the authority and administra-
« tion to themselves, instead of obliging them
« to apply themselves to things that are useful
« and necessary, take care to occupy them only
« with trifles unworthy of them, and do it so
« artfully, that it is impossible for a young
« Prince to see through their design. Instead
« of continually representing to them that the
« true greatness of a King consists in the exer-
« cise of his authority, they feed them only
« with the appearances and images of that
« greatness, such as exterior pomp and magni-
« ficence, in which pride and vanity bear by
« far the greatest share. In fine, instead of care-

« fully instructing them in what they ought
« to know, and do, (for all the science of Kings
« ought to be practical) they keep them in a
« profound ignorance of all their concerns, in
« order to have all the power in their own
« hands, and to render themselves absolutely
« necessary. Hence it is, that a Prince, when
« he grows up, from a consciousness of his own
« weakness, thinks himself incapable of go-
« vernaing, and from the moment he is possessed
« with that opinion, he must resign to other
« hands the helm of his state, unless he is
« endowed with extraordinary natural talents,
« and blessed with a truly royal spirit. But that
« is not all; those people possess themselves
« of all the avenues to hinder honest men from
« approaching the tender ears of those royal
« children, or if that is not in their power, they
« never fail to throw suspicions on them, lest
« they should gain any credit with those young
« Princes, to whom they misrepresent them as
« their enemies, or designing, ridiculous, or
« impertinent folks. Besides, they have their
« emissaries who intoxicate them with im-
« mense doses of adulation, praise, and adora-

« tion; who never suffer them to hear any thing
« but what serves their own selfish views,
« who by continual complaisance foster and
« cherish their faults; who make them believe
« they perfectly know every thing, though in fact
they know nothing; who persuade them, in fine,
« that Kings are not made to work, that it is
« beneath them, and that the functions of go-
« vernment being attended with labor, are
« consequently mean and servile.

« Thus are they inspired betimes with a
« disgust for the command; and accustomed to
« have masters, because they have neither
« skill nor strength enough as yet to be masters
« themselves. Thus from being never contra-
« dicted, but always worshiped; from having
« no experience of their own, nor ever felt the
« pressure of want and distress, those poor
« Princes often grow presumptuous and abso-
« lute in their whims, and vainly think them-
« selves on a level with the divinity. Many of
« them consult only their passions, pleasures,
« and caprices, as if mankind had been created
« for them alone, and they not made to govern
« mankind with wisdom and equity. Others

« suffer the lives and fortunes of their subjects
« to be squandered and thrown away, and,
« with an unparalleled insensibility, pay no
« more attention to their cries and complaints,
« than a butcher does to the groans of an ox he
« is slaughtering.

« On the contrary, those whose pretensions
« to the crown are more remote, and who
« ascend the throne at a more advanced time
« of life, are generally much better informed
« with regard to their own affairs. They apply
« themselves more closely to the administra-
« tion of their state, of which they always take
« care to keep the helm in their own hands;
« they are more just, compassionate, and
« merciful; they know much better how to
« oeconomize their revenue; they are more
« careful of the blood and property of their
« subjects, more willing to listen to remons-
« trances, and more strict in their dispensa-
« tion of justice. They are not so apt to abuse
« their power, nor, by arbitrary proceedings,
« to drive people to desperation, which some-
« times brings about strange revolutions.

« If it be asked why they are so, it is because

« they have been in a situation, where they have
« been taught to look upon a King as disho-
« noured, who does not act his own part, and
« suffers it to be acted by another; where, if
« they have had flatterers, they have likewise
« had enemies, who openly opposed them,
« and who, by censuring their failings, have
« induced them to mend them; where they
« themselves have joined with others in ani-
« madverting on the vices of the government
« under which they lived, which obliges them
« to pursue a quite different course, and not
« adopt measures which they themselves had
« condemned; where they have studied to
« conduct themselves with wisdom, because
« they were dependent, and afraid of being
« punished; where they have often heard the
« complaints of individuals, and been eye-
« witnesses of the distresses of the people; in
« a word, where they have known from their
« own experience what it is to suffer, and
« learned to compassionate those who groan
« under the rod of injustice, because they
« themselves have smarted under the scourge
« of an imperious and tyrannic domination.

« We have two striking instances of this, in
« Lewis XII surnamed the father of his people,
« and in our Henry, two of the greatest Prin-
« ces, that in these latter ages, have swayed
« the sceptre of France».

FINIS.

Péréfixe de Beaumont, Hardouin de,

The life of Henry the Fourth of France

Paris 1785

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